'for your ghostly conforte that vnderstande no latyn' A study of The Fruyte of Redempcyon by Symon Appulby

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‘for your ghostly conforte that vnderstande no latyn’:

A study of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* by Symon Appulby

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Abstract

The Fruyte of Redempcyon is an early sixteenth-century English vernacular devotional text which presents loosely-structured prayers and meditations on the events of Christ's life, death, resurrection, and ascension, focussing mainly on the events of the Passion. In its time it was extremely popular (being printed five times between 1514 and 1532), but since then there has been relatively little attention paid to it or to its compiler/author, the anchorite Symon Appulby (died c.1537).

There initially appears to be no particular reason for *The Fruyte*'s contemporary popularity, but in some respects its very ordinariness was the key to its success. This text was aimed at English-literate lay people to help with their personal devotions, offering unquestionably orthodox and 'safe' content, yet it also offered its readers something less well-known in the way in which it presented that content.

Through examination of the selection and use of the Latin source materials, analysis of sections of the original English writing which has not been undertaken before, and consideration of the placement and purpose of the woodcuts within the printed editions, *The Fruyte* is revealed as providing a unique glimpse into the reading preferences of the devout laity in the decades

immediately before the English Reformation. Symon Appulby's position and location as an anchorite attached to a parish on the edge of the City of London is also an important consideration in determining the significance of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* to a greater understanding of this period.

'The contents of this boke appereth in the chapters folowynge.'[1]

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Introduction

All overlooked texts are overlooked for a reason, even if that reason is little more than the passage of time. Readers' tastes change, and what appeals to one generation may not suit that generation's children or grandchildren. This is particularly true in the field of devotional literature, where what is once regarded as orthodox and respectable may very quickly become viewed as reactionary or heretical, or (even worse) simply old-fashioned. This is especially the case with texts which appear just prior to times of wider societal change, which then either have to ride the waves of that change, or sink beneath them. The latter fate appears to have been suffered by the early sixteenth-century devotional text *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, by the London anchorite Symon Appulby,[1] although the argument of this study is that *The Fruyte*'s apparent disappearance from bookshelves after the early 1530s is of less importance than its significant popularity before that point. Although it is not presenting the rediscovery of a completely lost work, the examination of *The Fruyte* and its author in this thesis offers a reassessment of the text, suggesting that the fact of its being overlooked is unjust, even if understandable.

A great deal of scholarship in recent years has focussed on the years leading up

[1] Other scholars tend to refer to him as 'Simon', which is also the spelling used in his anchoritic profession document and his will. The preference here is for 'Symon', as the spelling given in the colophon to all five editions of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, and therefore how his original readers would have known him.

to and surrounding the English (Henrician) Reformation, examining and analysing the forms and practices of religion amongst the laity, and questioning what it was that they (whoever 'they' may have been, itself a topic for intense debate) were looking for when seeking guidance in making their devotions.[2] As can be seen from the titles of some of the many works written on this subject, the angles from which this area has been - and continues to be - approached are many, leading to different designations such as 'traditional', 'popular', or 'vernacular' religion. In a long footnote within his extensive article on the context and consequences of Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1409, Nicholas Watson attempts to explain his preference for the phrase 'vernacular theology', citing a 'range of alternatives - "popular," "didactic," "devotional," "pastoral," "mystical," or "affective" writing, for example', although since he also refers to 'the aura of otherworldliness that often surrounds terms like "devotional"', his somewhat convoluted explanation does

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[2] See, amongst many others, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press (1992, 2nd edition 2005); John H Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, London: Hodder Arnold (2005); Shannon McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion 1480-1525', *Past & Present* 186 (2005), 47-80; Vincent Gilliespie, 'Vernacular Theology', in Paul Strohm (ed), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), pp. 401-20; Norman Tanner, *The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval and Western Europe*, London & New York: IB Tauris (2009), which collects together some of his articles on this topic from the preceding two decades; Samuel Fanous & Vincent Gillespie (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2011), particularly the chapters by Vincent Gillespie, '1412-1534: culture and history', pp. 163-93, and Barry Windeatt, '1412-1534: texts', pp. 195-224; GW Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability before the Break with Rome*, New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press (2012); and Sabrina Corbellini (ed), *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion*, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Press (2013).

not offer much clarity.[3] A more recent essay by Ian Johnson, like Watson's also within the context of the effect of Arundel's Constitutions, offers what may be the best - if not the most concise - description of what 'vernacular theology, or the theological vernacular' entails, suggesting that it

> involves the vernacular repackaging or adaptability of texts for purposes of theological performance, whether such performance involves the more or less programmatic nurturing of spiritual discipline; or the demonstration, shaping, or display of Christian ethics and rudiments of the faith; or the interpretation and application of biblical matter; or the enactments of devotion and the exercise of the *affeccioun*s; or the exposition or implementation of particular theological positions.[4]

Susan Powell directly connects the debate over how to describe this practice with the growth of print and the mass marketing of books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, observing that

> [e]ven though the devotional genre is broad, it is still notable that this is the dominant product of the first fifty years of print. There is some danger in using the term 'vernacular theology', but for the literate mass reading the cheap and available vernacular editions at this time, devotional and meditative

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[3] Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70.4 (1995), 822-64, at pp. 823-24 and n. 4.

[4] Ian Johnson, 'Vernacular Theology/Theological Vernacular: A Game of Two Halves?', in Vincent Gillespie & Kantik Ghosh (eds), *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Press (2011), pp. 73-88, at p. 73. At the end of the essay, he concludes that 'vernacular theology is in all probability not going to go away' (p. 87).

works will have been their main exposure to 'theology'.[5]

It is therefore within this context that *The Fruyte* should be considered, as a text aimed firmly at the English-reading laity and presenting material which will help both increase their knowledge of the faith and deepen their experience of the practice of that faith.

Despite Powell's linking of the debate over vernacular theology with the growth of printing, the fact remains that part of the reason for the neglect of *The Fruyte* is its dating. As Julia Boffey has observed, 'detailed research into the literate culture of the period c.1475 - 1530 has tended to slip down the crack between medieval and early modern studies',[6] and as an orthodox English text first printed in the 1510s, *The Fruyte* does not immediately stand out as meriting particular attention amongst other texts of the time. After all, Jennifer Bryan is not alone in her assessment that

> [t]he devotional output of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries seems at best borrowed and unadventurous, and at worst reactionary, when compared to the native classics of what Nicholas Watson has called the 'brilliant years' before 1410 - years that produced not only John Wyclif, but Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, *The Cloud of Unknowing*, *Piers Plowman*, and *Pearl*, not to mention such important adaptations

[5] Susan Powell, 'After Arundel but before Luther: The First Half-Century of Print', in Gillespie & Ghosh (eds), *After Arundel*, pp. 523-41, at p. 529. In a footnote she expands on her use of the word 'danger', commenting that this 'consists in using a term which has received such wide currency through its use by Nicholas Watson to mean a sort of "cutting edge" theology whose edges were severely blunted by Arundel's Constitutions' (p. 529 n. 29).

[6] Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London c.1475-1530*, London: The British Library (2012), p. 6.

as *The Chastising of God's Children*, *A Talkynge of the Love of God*, and *The Prickynge of Love*.[7]

However, although texts by or attributed to Hilton and Rolle, and a brief prose adaptation of *Piers Plowman*, were printed before the end of the 1530s, Julian's *Revelation* and the other texts listed by Bryan were not. The rapidly expanding number of English-literate lay people who bought the books printed by William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and others, must therefore have been guided in their devotions by writers and texts other than those now regarded as 'classics'. As Bryan goes on to say, this resulted in the opening up of 'a broader market for previously sanctioned but hitherto inaccessible or unavailable writings - not just earlier works in English, but especially translations from Latin and the Continental vernaculars'.[8]

It might therefore be thought that this opportunity would be grasped by any number of writers eager to make an impression on new readers. However, with a few notable exceptions this was not the case; Alexandra Gillespie observes that while '[o]n occasion [de Worde's] editions ascribe printed devotional material to medieval writers: Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Margery Kempe, and members of the community at Syon … [,] most of De Worde's illustrated

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[7] Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press (2008), p. 26, quoting Nicholas Watson, 'The Middle English Mystics', in David Wallace (ed), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999), pp. 539-65, at p. 562.

[8] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, p. 27.

religious books are anonymous.'[9] The degree of popularity attained by Symon Appulby through *The Fruyte* was therefore unusual not only for a named author at this time, but particularly for a named *living* author. The only other similar figure in this period was Richard Whitford, the most prolific member of the Syon Abbey community to whom Gillespie refers. The purpose of this study is not to determine why Whitford's writing remains relatively well-known five centuries later while Symon's does not, but rather to consider some of the reasons for *The Fruyte*'s contemporary popularity, and why it is worth reconsidering and re-evaluating now.

The debate within scholarship on late medieval lay devotions has been intense, and in the last two decades has often been positioned as a response to - or in reaction against - Eamon Duffy's treatment of the subject and the period in *The Stripping of the Altars*.[10] This present study does not necessarily seek to take issue with Duffy's approach, although Michael Sargent's observation about the omission (or near-omission) from *The Stripping of the Altars* of mention of

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[9] Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006), p. 90.

[10] This is best seen in the exchanges between Eamon Duffy and David Aers, starting with Aers' review of the first edition of *The Stripping of the Altars*: see David Aers, 'Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*', *Literature and History* 3rd series 3.2 (1994), 90-105; Eamon Duffy, 'A Comment on David Aers' "Altars of Power"', *Literature and History* 3rd series 4.1 (1995), 86-88; and David Aers, 'Response to Eamon Duffy's "Comment"', *Literature and History* 3rd series 4.1 (1995), 89. Duffy further addresses Aers' criticisms, as well as those voiced by others, in the Preface to the second edition of *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. xiii-xxxvii (particularly sections III to VI, pp. xviii-xxxii).

Nicholas Love and Walter Hilton is a notable one.[11] The predominant focus of this study is the text of *The Fruyte* rather than Symon's anchoritic profession, but this aspect of his life is an important one for consideration. As will be seen, the presence of anchorites in parish communities was an accepted part of medieval religious life, so from the perspective of wider anchoritic studies Duffy's apparent neglect of this area (with the exception of Julian of Norwich) is noticeable. The paradox is therefore that in examining the heart of medieval religious life, the ordinary laity, a significant element of what kept that heart beating has been ignored, possibly because while some anchoritic figures stand out, the majority appear to stand back and thus do not attract attention.

In a similar way, the nature of *The Fruyte* itself has in some respects contributed to the lack of attention paid to it since its initial publication and circulation. Critical studies of the period before and during the Reformation in England often tend to focus more on what went against the prevailing norms (such as Lollardy or other heterodox theologies), or on defences of the norms (including writers such as Whitford), rather than on the norms themselves. This can be seen in Sargent's observation that there is a

> problematic … tendency to treat orthodoxy - on its own

[11] Michael G Sargent, 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of Late Medieval England', in Gillespie & Ghosh (eds), *After Arundel*, pp. 55-72, at p. 59 n. 12. Other responses to Duffy's book can be found in GW Bernard, 'Review of *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England* (Eamon Duffy)', *The Heythrop Journal* 34.4 (1993), 452-55; GW Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church*, at p. ix; and John J Thompson, 'Reading with a Passion: Fifteenth-Century English Geographies of Orthodoxy', in Corbellini (ed), *Cultures of Religious Reading*, pp. 55-69, at p. 69 n. 31.

> ideological terms - as always already known, always identical, so that orthodoxy can always be assumed, and heterodoxy must always be defined. We spend considerable time asking 'What was Lollardy?' because we assume that we already know what orthodoxy was - it always was what it is now.[12]

This presumption that the orthodox does not need to be explored (or is not worthy of exploration) often prevails despite the fact that some scholars (including Duffy himself) have argued that there is too much attention paid to those who dissent, and that the impact of such dissenting minorities on the vast majority of faithful Christians of the time 'has been grossly exaggerated'.[13] Bryan neatly sums up the polarised nature of the issue as she argues that 'there are good reasons not to see the devotional literature of the period in terms of a clear dichotomy between subversive heterodoxy and repressive, "here, read this instead" orthodoxy.'[14] *The Fruyte* is orthodox but not repressive, appealing without being subversive, and demonstrates that it is possible to adhere to conventional subject matter without forgoing skill and sophistication in the process. However, with the passage of time those elements of its content and presentation which made it stand out in its day have to a certain extent come to be regarded as unexceptional, so that an understanding of its contemporary impact has been lost.

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[12] Sargent, 'Censorship or Cultural Change?', p. 60.

[13] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Preface p. xxi; in this case he is referring to 'the impact of Lollardy on fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century religious awareness'. See also David Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *ELH* 54.4 (1987), 761-99, in which he challenges the view that the apparent 'dullness' of fifteenth-century poetry makes it less worthy of careful and considered study.

[14] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, p. 31.

Margaret Aston has observed that '[t]he truly "popular" may be the most conventional and mundane and ordinary',[15] and in one sense this is undoubtedly true of *The Fruyte*. Yet just as Symon Appulby, as an urban anchorite, occupied the paradoxical position of seeking a solitary life in the midst of a thriving community, so the text which he wrote in part for that community also occupies a position of paradox: popular in its time for being conventional in theology but also gently pushing at the boundaries of personal devotion, it is now often overlooked because it is regarded as not pushing those boundaries hard enough. This study aims to show that in both the text of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* and its context there are opportunities for rediscovery and further study, and that despite occupying what appears to be a relatively 'mundane and ordinary' position (per Aston) this little book offers significant insights into the devotional practices and preferences of the English-reading laity in the early sixteenth century.

[15] Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600*, London: The Hambledon Press (1993), p. xiv.

Chapter 1: 'this deuoute lytell treatyse'[1]

The Text and its Author

It is usual in studies such as this, which contribute towards a greater or developing understanding of a particular text or author, to discuss previous work on the subject at the outset of the study. However, since in this case there has been comparatively little scholarship of note on Symon Appulby and *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, this opening chapter will first give an overview and description of the text, recognising that its relative obscurity means that knowledge of it should not be presumed. After looking at the surviving copies of the text, including the differences and similarities between the five editions, and describing the format and structure of the text and the placing of woodcuts in the different editions, the final section of this chapter will discuss the existing (and to a large extent, the extant) literature on Symon and *The Fruyte*. In thus preparing the ground for the literature review, it should become clear that in many cases the lack of recognition of *The Fruyte*'s significance has been due to lack of familiarity with the text, in relation to both its content and its continued existence.

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[1] *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* (*STC* 22559) sig. [E4], lines 3-4 (colophon). All references to early printed books throughout this thesis are to their listing in AW Pollard & GR Redgrave, revised WA Jackson, FS Ferguson & Katharine F Pantzer, *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640,* London: Bibliographical Society (2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 1976-1991, 3 volumes), the title of which is abbreviated to *STC*.

1.1 Description of the surviving copies

The Fruyte of Redempcyon is an English devotional text in the form of loosely-structured prayers and meditations on the events of Christ's life, death, resurrection, and ascension, divided into thirty-one chapters. The majority of the text (chapters 14 to 28) focuses on the Passion of Christ, from the entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper to his death and burial. No author is credited on the front cover or in the list of chapters, but the colophon at the end of the text invites the reader's prayers for

> the Anker of London wall wretched Symon, that to the honour of Jesu Chryst and of the virgyn his mother Mary hath compyled this mater in englysshe for your ghostly conforte that vnderstande no latyn.[2]

As will be discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis, anchorites were to be found in several locations on or near the London Wall during the Middle Ages (as well as elsewhere in the City of London), as both the gates and the various churches built into or close to the restored Roman structure provided suitable enclosures for recluses. In this case, Symon can be located at the church of All Hallows London Wall, situated on the wall's northern edge and slightly to the west of Bishopsgate. Symon Appulby was the last, and because of *The Fruyte* probably the best-known, of a succession of anchorites to be enclosed at All Hallows over a period of nearly a century and a half.

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[2] *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22559) sig [E4], lines 6-10 (colophon). Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from *The Fruyte* throughout this thesis will be from this edition, a transcription of which is given as Appendix C below.

The Fruyte was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514 (*STC* 22557), and then reprinted three times by him, in 1517 (*STC* 22558),[3] in 1530 (*STC* 22559),[4] and in 1532 (*STC* 22560). These editions are all in octavo format,[5] comprise 48 pages, and run to a total of about 13,000 words, using black letter type. All editions have a woodcut of the Crucifixion on the front cover, a table of contents listing the chapter headings, and eighteen other woodcuts amidst the text (an additional cut brings the total to nineteen in *STC* 22559), usually but not always at the start of a chapter. There are also decorated initials at the start of chapters 1 and 18 in three of the editions, although not in *STC* 22559. The concluding colophon by Symon Appulby is followed by an endorsement by Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London from 1506 to 1522, and a line giving the year of printing and the name of the printer, with a final woodcut indicating de Worde's production of the text on the back cover.

A fifth (although chronologically fourth) edition was printed in 1531 by Robert Redman (*STC* 22559.5). This is smaller than the de Worde editions, but in common with those texts it has an image of the Crucifixion on the front cover and the printer's monogram on the back cover, although there are some differences in layout within the text, and slightly fewer woodcut illustrations

[3] The date is given at the end of this edition as 'M.CCCC. and. xvii.' (*STC* 22558 sig. [D4], line 18), but this cannot possibly be correct; a misprint of 1417 for 1517 is therefore assumed by all scholars.

[4] This entry is duplicated in *A Short-title catalogue* as *STC* 11407.

[5] Although *STC* 22557, *STC* 22559, and *STC* 22560 are all described in the British Library's online Integrated Catalogue as '4°', these editions certainly seem to have been designed to be held in the hand, and are definitely smaller than quarto size.

(thirteen rather than eighteen or nineteen, plus various decorative space-fillers, and no decorated initials). The table of contents in this case appears at the end, after Symon's entreaty to the reader and Fitzjames' endorsement. As with the de Worde editions, the text finishes with the name of printer and the year of printing. It is worth noting that Fitzjames' endorsement is repeated in all editions following the original of 1514, despite the fact that Fitzjames himself died in 1522, and that by the time de Worde's latter two editions and Redman's single edition were printed, Fitzjames' successor as Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, had himself in turn been succeeded by John Stokesley.

Immediately it can be seen that this was not a text which was being circulated illicitly, contrary to the wishes of those in authority. Rather, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* was originally printed by the closest body to an official printer which London had at that time; James Moran, in his biographical monograph on Wynkyn de Worde, notes that '[i]n the few books printed between the death of Henry VII and the Countess of Richmond de Worde calls himself printer to the King's grandmother'.[6] In addition, the text received the episcopal approval which had (at least in theory) been necessary for all publications containing Biblical material in translation since Arundel's Constitutions of 1409.[7] This

[6] James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde: Father of Fleet Street*, London: The British Library (3rd edition 2003), p. 35.

[7] See Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70.4 (1995), 822-64, particularly at p. 828 where he notes that '… article 7 forbids anybody to make any written translation of a text of Scripture into English or even to own a copy, without diocesan permission, of any such translation made since Wycliffe's time.'

episcopal endorsement, however, may actually have been less commonly given than is presumed. In her unpublished PhD thesis on devotional texts printed in this period, JT Rhodes notes that the popularity of the earlier text, the *Speculum Vitae Christi*, was 'probably encouraged by its guaranteed orthodoxy: the episcopal approbation of Archbishop Arundel was copied in many of the manuscripts and appeared in the printed copies.' She then observes, though, that '[t]he only other such licence known to me was that granted by the conservative and lollard-hating bishop of London, Richard Fitzjames, to Simon's *Fruyte of Redempcyon*',[8] perhaps suggesting that this sign of official approval, while in one respect confirming the text's orthodoxy and acceptability, also indicates that it is somehow deserving of more notice than other texts, since it possesses this endorsement and they do not.

Of these five editions of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* seven copies survive, all of which have been examined for this research. Three copies (two of which are unique) are held in the British Library (*STC* 22557, *STC* 22559, and *STC* 22560),[9] two (one unique) in the Cambridge University Library (*STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558),[10] and another two (one unique) in the John Rylands Library, University

[8] J Rhodes, 'Private Devotion in England on the Eve of the Reformation illustrated from works printed or reprinted in the period 1530-40', University of Durham (1974), vol. 1, p. 356.

[9] *STC* 22557 (classmark C.21.c.23) was examined on 12 August 2009, and *STC* 22559 (classmark C.25.k.17) and *STC* 22560 (classmark C.53.k.12) were examined on 11 September 2009.

[10] *STC* 22557 (classmark Sel 5.31) and *STC* 22558 (classmark Sel 5.35) were examined on 11 December 2009.

of Manchester (*STC* 22558 and *STC* 22559.5).[11] All copies - with the apparent exception of the Cambridge copy of *STC* 22558, as will be discussed below - have been bound in hard cover by their respective libraries, usually individually but sometimes with other texts.

The British Library copy of *STC* 22557 has been bound on its own, and has a number of blank pages after the text. It is in good condition, although it has had remedial work done on the bottom corners of the pages. The Cambridge copy of this edition is similarly bound on its own, and apart from some slight foxing in places is also in good condition. In neither copy is there any indication of provenance or date of acquisition, although there is a very small note on the inside front cover of the Cambridge copy which reads 'Bound by Stoakley. Late Hawes'. It is not immediately possible to determine whether this is printed or handwritten. The only point of note in comparing the two copies is that one of the printed marginal notes which is present in the British Library copy is not present in the Cambridge copy.[12] Otherwise, the two copies are identical, which suggests that even within one edition of the text there was more than one print run, further indicating its popularity.

The Cambridge copy of *STC* 22558 is bound with nine other tracts which were

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[11] *STC* 22558 (classmark /7138) and *STC* 22559.5 (classmark /12403.2) were examined on 26 March 2010.

[12] 'Oratio', found at the top of *STC* 22557 sig [C8v], line 1.

also published by de Worde, dating from 1509 to 1522 with one undated. The spine of this compilation has 'Tracts 15[?]1' printed on it, with the third digit of the date destroyed by the cracking of the spine over time. However, given the dates of the texts included in the compilation, the earliest possible date of compilation would have to be 1531 rather than, for example, 1521. By way of a table of contents there is a handwritten list of the tracts contained in the book on the page facing the flyleaf, and the style of writing would suggest a sixteenth century scribe, therefore also suggesting a contemporary date of binding. The list reads:

1. The Remedy ayenst the troubles of Temptations	1519
2. The Fruit of Redemption	1417[13]
3. The three Kings of Coleyne	1511
4. The Root or Mirror of Consolation	1511
5. The Church of the Evil men and women	1511
6. The dyinge Creature	1514
7. The Mirrour of Gold for the Sinfull Soule	1522*[14]
8. The Virtue of the Masse	[no date]
9. The 7 Sheddings of the Blood of Jesus Xt [sic]	1509
10. A Book, of a Ghostly Father, confessing his Ghostly Child	1520

The book is in generally good condition despite some stains on a few pages, although these do not prevent the text from being read clearly. The misprint of the date of printing given at the end of this edition has been corrected by hand

[13] The figure '4' has had a box drawn around it, although it is not crossed out, with '5' written above it; see n. 3 above, p. 21, regarding the dating of this edition of *The Fruyte*.

[14] The asterisk is original, but there is no explanation as to its presence after the date for this entry.

in this copy from 'M.CCCC.and.xvii' to 'M.CCCCC.and.xvii'. This is the only handwritten note present in this particular text in the compilation, although many of the other texts contain notes or marginal scribbles.

The Manchester copy of *STC* 22558 is bound on its own with a library bookplate dated 1894 on the facing front page. The inside front cover has a label indicating some provenance, which reads 'E Bibliotheca Spenceriana'. Above the label is a handwritten note which is likely to be contemporary with the bookplate, and which reads:

> The Date on the Colophon is 1417; in all Probability intended for 1517.
>
> The Rycharde Byshop of London mentioned in the last Page, in this Case must have been Richard Fitzjames Bishop of London from 1506 to 1522.
>
> This Eidition [sic] is not described in Dibdin's Ames.

This last statement is somewhat confusing, since as will be discussed further in the next section of this chapter, while some early twentieth-century critics were unaware of this particular edition of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, earlier scholars and bibliographers, including Joseph Ames, had known of it, as is shown by the listing of it in the work begun by him and completed by William Herbert in the

1780s.[15] The condition of this copy is not as good as that of the Cambridge copy of this edition, but it is also the only copy of the seven surviving which shows active evidence of being engaged with by its readers. There are numerous doodles and scribbles, as well as occasional words and phrases written into the margins, although most of these are now only partially legible since the pages in question have been cropped in the library binding process. It is possible to determine that there is more than one hand present, and the style of writing appears to be roughly contemporary with the publication of the text, although a detailed examination has not been undertaken.

More significantly, at the very end of the text in the space beneath the colophon and episcopal endorsement on sig [D4], there are eleven lines of writing which continue into the right-hand margin. Unfortunately this has been covered up at some point, presumably as part of the repairs when this copy was bound, although some of the writing can be read if the page is held up to the light. A more specialised examination is required to decipher all of the writing, but the opening line 'O lord and kyng over al thyng', and the phrase 'In the nam of god' in the penultimate line, would suggest that it might be a prayerful

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[15] Joseph Ames, *Typographical antiquities: or an historical account of the origin and progress of printing in Great Britain and Ireland: containing memoirs of our ancient printers, and a register of books printed by them, from the year MCCCCLXXI to the year MDC. Begun by the late Joseph Ames, ... Considerably augmented, both in the memoirs and number of books, by William Herbert, ... In three volumes. ...* Volume 1, London (1785-90). Accessed via Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 29 April 2014: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco.infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=kings&tabID=T001&docId=CW102227552&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version+1.0&docLevel=FACSIMILE. *STC* 22557 (1514) is listed on p. 152, *STC* 22558 (1517) on p. 156, *STC* 22560 (1532) on pp. 184-85, and *STC* 22559.5 (1531) on p. 389. See also pp. 92-93 below.

response to the experience of reading the text. However, other phrases such as 'of my myghty of the mynd of mand' make less sense both in themselves and in the context of a prayer. As a result, until further work can be done on the writing on this page, the more likely conclusion is that these lines are semi-random jottings by a contemporary (or near-contemporary) reader of *The Fruyte*, who may or may not have been inspired by the text to attempt a deeper interaction with and response to it.

The British Library copy of *STC* 22559, which is unique, is also bound on its own and has about the same number of pages again following the text, presumably to take up space for ease of binding. This edition, as will be discussed further elsewhere, is by far the best presented of the four de Worde editions, and the passage of time has not adversely affected this copy. The British Museum stamp on the front cover of the text reads '18 FE 51'; information provided on the British Library's website indicates that this design of stamp was in use from 1837 to 1929, meaning that this copy of *The Fruyte* was acquired in 1851.[16] If this copy, which is the only known surviving copy of this edition, was still in private hands before this date, or at least not in the public academic domain, this may explain why Ames and Herbert did not include reference to it in *Typographical antiquities*. Further investigation of provenance and ownership of the various surviving copies of *The Fruyte* is beyond the scope

[16] See http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/prbooks/provenanceresearch/provenanceresearch.html, accessed on 29 April 2014.

of this thesis, but it remains an area of interest. It may not be surprising that only seven copies remain, five centuries after the text's original publication, as it was clearly intended as a book to be used rather than to be carefully stored and preserved, but how these copies have survived the upheavals of the Reformation and the subsequent passage of time may be a topic for future investigation.

The Manchester copy of *STC* 22559.5, which is also unique, is bound with three other texts, at least one of which was also printed in 1531. Unlike the Cambridge copy of *STC* 22558, which is also grouped with other texts, there is nothing by way of a list of contents, although as with that copy *The Fruyte* is the second of the texts in the compilation. It is also likely that these texts were collected together more recently than those in the Cambridge collection; the book has a library bookplate on the facing front page which is dated 1894, and examination of the whole book reveals two bookworm holes, one through the whole of the book and the other through the third and fourth texts in the compilation. This suggests that these two texts were collected together elsewhere before being bound with the other two, possibly at the time of acquisition by the library.

The four texts in this collection are all devotional in nature, although the fourth may reflect sixteenth-century attitudes to medicine as well as to faith. The first

is entitled *Deuoute prayers in englysshe of thactes of our redemption*, and although it gives Redman's name as that of the printer there is no date of printing mentioned. '1531' has been written on the title page, but it is not clear whether this is contemporary with publication or with binding by the library. *The Fruyte* then follows, which does include the date of printing, as does the third text in the collection, *The Pomander of prayer*. The final text's title page gives all necessary information except the date of printing:

> This lytell boke contaynethe certayne gostly medycynes necessary to be vsed among weldisposed people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of pestilens, thus collecte and sette forth in ordre by the diligent laboure of the religyous brother Syr Paule Bushe preste and bonehome in the good house of Edyndon

As with *Deuoute prayers*, '1531' has again been written on the title page, in the same hand as before. *The Fruyte* itself also has handwritten annotations, although these are in red ink rather than black, and appear to be in a different hand. On the title page has been written 'By the anker of London wall wretched Symon', and this phrase has been underlined (also in red ink) where it occurs in the text, in the colophon at the end.[17] Although not in bad condition, with the exception of some staining on a few pages, overall this edition does not look as well presented as those printed by de Worde.

Finally, the British Library copy of *STC* 22560 (which is again unique) is also

[17] At sig [E2], line 26 - [E2v], line 1; this edition is half the size of those printed by de Worde, and therefore has twice as many pages.

bound on its own, although in this case there are no additional blank leaves filling up space. There is some foxing in places, for which the text appears to have been treated. Of particular interest is the presence of a note with details of provenance, which will be discussed in more detail in section 1.4 below as it provides some insight into how *The Fruyte* has been viewed by scholars in recent centuries.[18] For now, it is worth noting that the date on the British Museum stamp in this copy is unclear. It is of the same style of stamp as that present in the British Library copy of *STC* 22559, which (as mentioned above) was in use from 1837 to 1929.[19] In this case all four digits of the year are given, rather than just the final two as in *STC* 22559, which leads to the uncertainty as to the actual date of acquisition. The style of stamp suggests 1909, but the stamp itself appears to read '13 JA 1809'. The internal evidence of the note appears to support the earlier date; if the date of acquisition of *STC* 22559 is definitely 1851, then a note written in 1909 should be expected to refer to that edition, which it does not.

Although not a point to be pursued further in this present study, this again raises questions regarding the details of the survival of these seven copies, and the paths which they took once they left the workshops of de Worde and Redman. As regards this discussion, the very fact that five editions were produced is strongly indicative of *The Fruyte*'s popularity - a popularity which

[18] See pp. 90-94 below.

[19] See n.16, p. 28.

was in all probability due to the nature of the text itself, which will be described in the next section of this chapter.

1.2 The format of the text

In continuing the process of introduction to *The Fruyte*, this section will consider the overall structure of the text, including some of the differences between the editions, demonstrated in the seven surviving copies as described in the previous section. The content and construction of the text, including analysis of Symon's use of his source materials, will be discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, but given the text's relative obscurity it is helpful to draw the basic outlines of the picture before filling in the details.

The thirty-one chapters of *The Fruyte* vary greatly in length, but most follow the pattern of starting with a prayer of thanks and praise which then leads into a meditation on either a particular part of the Gospel story or a related theological point. There is then generally a further expression of thanks and a concluding prayer, and almost always an instruction to the reader to make their own prayers in the form of one or both of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. The subjects of the chapters are listed in each individual chapter heading as well as in the separate list of chapters; pared down, these subjects are as follows:

> Chapter 1: Opening prayer;
> Chapter 2: God as Trinity, and the creation, particularly of mankind;
> Chapter 3: God's mercy in being prepared to redeem mankind by the Incarnation;[20]

[20] The chapter heading includes reference to 'the myserable laps of man' (*The Fruyte* sig. [A4v], line 13, a phrase which also appears in the list of chapters on sig. [A1v], line 9), but the Fall is not actually described in the body of the chapter.

Chapter 4: The early life of the Virgin Mary, the annunciation, and the nativity;

Chapter 5: The circumcision of Christ;

Chapter 6: The visit of the Magi;

Chapter 7: The presentation of Christ in the Temple;

Chapter 8: The flight into Egypt;

Chapter 9: Christ teaching in the Temple as a child;[21]

Chapter 10: Christ's baptism by John;

Chapter 11: Jesus' temptation in the Wilderness;

Chapter 12: Examples of Christ's ministry;

Chapter 13: The entry into Jerusalem and the last supper;

Chapter 14: Christ's prayer in Gethsemane;

Chapter 15: Jesus' betrayal by Judas, his questioning by the Jewish authorities, and appearances before Pilate and Herod;

Chapter 16: Further appearances before Pilate, and torture by the soldiers;

Chapter 17: Mocking by the soldiers, including the crown of thorns;

Chapter 18: Jesus' condemnation to death;

Chapter 19: The journey to Calvary, and the Crucifixion;

Chapter 20: Mocking by the people, Christ's words 'Father forgive them ...';

Chapter 21: The penitent thief;

Chapter 22: Jesus' commendation of his mother to John;

Chapter 23: Jesus' words 'I thirst';

Chapter 24: Jesus' words 'My god, my god, why hast thou

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[21] While there is some reference to the passage of time between this event and the start of Christ's ministry, there is no discussion of 'his holy hydde lyfe' as referred to in the chapter heading (*The Fruyte* sig. [A1v], lines 23-24, and sig. [B5], lines 22-23). There is certainly no attempt to link the hidden years of Christ's life to the hidden life of an anchorite as experienced by Symon.

forsaken me?';
Chapter 25: Jesus' words 'It is finished';
Chapter 26: Jesus' words 'Into thy hands …', his death, and the harrowing of hell;
Chapter 27: Christ hanging dead on the cross and the opening of his side with a spear;
Chapter 28: The removal of Christ's body from the cross, and his burial;
Chapter 29: Jesus' resurrection and appearances to his disciples;
Chapter 30: The ascension;
Chapter 31: The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Those chapters which do not follow the general pattern as outlined above are few enough to be discussed briefly here, although they are not necessarily the shortest chapters in the text. The first chapter is one of these, consisting of a prayer from the author which may equally be intended to come from the lips of the reader. It acts as a way of creating an appropriate atmosphere for the experience of reading the rest of the text, placing the reader in a position of worship, reverence, and humility. The unworthiness of humanity in general, and the author/reader in particular, to address 'the magnytude of [God's] hyghnes'[22] is made clear, but it is not a position of grovelling abasement; although the speaker is 'vnclene and vnsufficyent' in being able to give God praise, yet God is worthy of praise because of the 'so great benefytes' which he has given to mankind.[23] It is also worth noting at this point that while the list of

[22] *The Fruyte* sig. A3, lines 11-12.

[23] *The Fruyte* sig. A3v, lines 4, 7.

chapters appears at the beginning of the text in all four of the editions printed by de Worde, in *STC* 22559.5 as printed by Redman it appears at the very end after Symon's colophon and the episcopal commendation. *STC* 22559.5 also omits the heading to chapter 1 in the main text, so that the reader is plunged straight into the opening prayer with no sense of preparation. The overall effect is thus that the reader of one of de Worde's editions is eased into the appropriate frame of mind for prayer and reflection much more gently than is the reader of Redman's version of the text.

Chapter 12 is the only other chapter to deviate markedly from the general pattern. In many respects this is a bridging chapter which finds a way of moving from the narrative events of one end of Christ's life to those at the other end, without involving too much detail but also without negating the significance of the years of ministry. The 'gloryous sygnes, examples and good maners, and … dyuerse tribulacyons'[24] referred to in the chapter heading are therefore listed one after the other, often in very short sentences. As will be discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, this section of the text is a direct translation from the main Latin source, yet this list is not unlike a litany, a structure which encourages the reader in reflection and meditation even though there is none provided within the chapter itself. The usual ending of 'Pater noster. Aue maria' is also absent, the only time in the text where a chapter finishes so

[24] *The Fruyte* sig. [B6v], lines 3-4.

abruptly.

Printed marginal notes referring to the Bridgettine material added to the original source text, as well as to specific Biblical passages, occur throughout the text. These references are most concentrated, though, in the chapters which concern or touch upon Mary, suggesting that the original material dealt less with the Virgin than becomes the case in translation into English, since these references have had to be added. The marginal references to Bridget's *Revelations*, which are predominantly to the tenth chapter of the first Book of this work, occur in chapters 4, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, and 28 of *The Fruyte,* while chapter 7 has marginal references to Leviticus and to Bernard, in the context of the purification after childbirth required by Jewish law and the applicability or otherwise of this to Mary. Roger Ellis, one of only a couple of scholars to have considered the sources used by Symon in writing *The Fruyte*, confirms the general accuracy of the references to the *Revelations*, noting that Symon '[bases] himself almost entirely on I, x', although he also notes that Symon brings in other material at applicable points in the narrative.[25] In addition to these references, which are either noted in full (although with abbreviations) or marked 'Ibidem', there are two references to Book VI chapter i, and a handful of references to what appears to be Book X chapter x, such as that in chapter 4: 'Li.

[25] Roger Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam ... Coronam": An Investigation into the uses of the Revelations of St Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Aevum* 51 (1982), 163-86, at p. 179.

x. reuelat. baete [sic] Brigitte ca. x'.[26] There are, however, only eight Books in the *Revelations* as edited during Bridget's lifetime and immediately after her death by Alphonse of Pecha.[27] It would therefore appear that these references are misprints, although it seems strange that someone as able as Symon was at interleaving material from two sources into a single whole, showing at least a working familiarity with the *Revelations* in the process, should make such an error.[28]

It is also worth noting here that unlike the body of the text, these marginal references are in Latin. This would appear to contradict Symon's own statement in the colophon that the book is intended for those who do not understand Latin, but in writing an English text with Latin marginalia Symon can be seen - in this respect at least - to be following the example of Nicholas Love. *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, Love's fifteenth-century translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, has many similar marginalia, and as Michael Sargent observes in his edition of the version of Love's *Mirror* found in Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686, there is also an explanatory note (albeit in Latin) before the main body of that text outlining the method in the marginalia:

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[26] *The Fruyte* sig. B3.

[27] See Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', pp. 164-65. Ellis also notes that since the eighth book was added after the completion of the original seven, the process of manuscript transmission meant that 'English readers originally encountered the *Revelations* only in their first seven books' (p. 166).

[28] See chapter 2 below, particularly section 2.3, for a detailed discussion of the use of Bridget's *Revelations* in *The Fruyte*.

> This note, which occurs even in the earliest manuscripts of the α and β manuscript traditions is apparently authorial; the marginal notes marking Nicholas Love's additions to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* are found throughout the text. The note does not occur in manuscripts of the γ textual family, although the marginalia to which it refers are usually present.[29]

As will be seen in section 2.3 below, the placing in the text of *The Fruyte* of the marginal references to Bridget's *Revelations* is so precise, marking to the line (in most cases) where Bridgettine material is interwoven with other material, that these notes also have to be authorial; what this suggests or implies about Symon's involvement in the printing process, though, can only be conjectured. More immediately, however, the use of Latin does suggest the possibility of layers of readership. Those who could read only English could use *The Fruyte* in their devotions but not lose anything by not understanding the marginalia, while those who were Latin-literate (and who had the means and resources to follow up the references) could further explore these avenues if they so wished.

Also present throughout the text, reminding the reader of the need to be involved in the experience of the text rather than merely being an observer, are biddings to prayer in the form of marginal notes reading 'Oratio'. These occur where there is a prayer at the end of a chapter, usually addressed to Jesus but in one instance (that of chapter 7) to Mary:

> Therfore make vs good lady so to be puryfyed and clensed here

[29] Michael G Sargent (ed), *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ: A reading text*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press (2004), p. 242.

> in this worlde from euery spotte of synne, that after this lyfe in all clennesse we may appere before the gloryous face of thy blessed sone. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[30]

Chapters 1, 3, 4, 8, 12, 28, and 29 do not have a concluding prayer so the marginal reminder is not applicable. Chapters 14, 16, and 17 do have prayers of this type but the marginal prompt is here omitted. It might be thought that chapter 2 should have a marginal reminder although again it is not present; the prayer here is addressed not to Jesus by name but to 'O mercyfull lorde and pacyent god'.[31] The use of Latin in this instance is less confusing, since it could be presumed that even those readers who were not Latin-literate might have recognised 'Oratio' from other prayer books, or might have been able to work it out from hearing the word in various forms in church. In his single edition of *The Fruyte*, Robert Redman often (although not always) includes a right-pointing manicule within the text at the point where 'Oratio' appears in the margin.[32] He also occasionally (but again not consistently) places right-pointing manicules before instances of direct speech, usually that of the Virgin or of Christ,[33] which although not illustrating the words as the woodcuts do, provide another visual guide as part of the reader's experience of the text.

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[30] *The Fruyte* sig. [B4v], lines 24-28.

[31] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4v], line 5.

[32] For instance, in chapter 13, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [B8], line 10, and in chapter 15, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [C3], line 25.

[33] See chapter 4, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [A7v], lines 22-24, 'Lo here the handmayde of god: befall it to me Angell after thy worde', and chapter 24, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [D4], line 26 - sig. [D4v], line 1, 'My god, my god why haste thou forsake me'.

With the exception noted in section 1.1 above regarding a single difference between the two surviving copies of *STC* 22557,[34] all the marginal notes thus described are consistent across the four editions printed by de Worde. However, *STC* 22560 has additional marginalia (again in Latin) which allow for a structured reading of the text throughout the course of one week.[35] A word or two in the margin at the start of chapters 1, 5, 13, 16, 20, 26, and 29 indicates where each day's allocation begins, starting on Sunday, 'Die dominica', and continuing with 'Feria secunda', 'Feria tertia', 'Feria quarta', 'Feria quinta', 'Feria sexta', and ending with 'Sabato',[36] although the last is somewhat unclear, as the word is divided over two lines and the action of trimming the edge of the page has cut through the initial 'S' and the first letter or letters on the line below; a transcription of what is actually visible gives 'Sab- | ato.'. This provides some proof that each of de Worde's editions was set afresh, rather than an existing set of formes simply being reprinted with an amended date, which is confirmed by an examination of the spelling and layout of the text.

One of the more immediately obvious differences between the editions is in the

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[34] See p. 24.

[35] It may be worth noting here that this structure could indicate a development in the approach to the reading of devotional literature as something which should take time, to allow for complete comprehension by immersion in the text. Michael Clanchy notes that the Benedictine rule, for example, gave 'each monk … one book to study for a year', which 'gave him time to digest it by metaphorically chewing over its meaning' (Michael T Clanchy, 'Looking Back From the Invention of Printing', in Daniel P Resnick (ed), *Literacy in Historical Perspective*, Washington, DC: Library of Congress (1983), pp. 7-22, at pp. 14-15). In this case, however, it appears that a reader of *The Fruyte* could reasonably feel that its meaning had been sufficiently digested in only seven days.

[36] *STC* 22560, at sig. A3, sig. B3v, sig. C3v, sig. D2v, sig. E2, sig. [E4v], and sig. F2v.

numbering of the pages. All five editions have alpha-numerical siglum numbers at the foot of some, although not all, right-hand pages of the text. In all the cases the first page of text is 'Aii' (meaning that the front cover is therefore '[Ai]'), but the division from that point varies between the editions, as can be seen when quoting the same passage from different editions of the text. *STC* 22557 has [A1], A2-3, [A4-8], B1-3, [B4], C1-3, [C4-8], D1-3, and [D4]. *STC* 22558 has essentially the same in terms of overall numbering, although the details vary slightly: [A1], A2-4, [A5-8], B1-3, [B4], C1-4, [C5-8], D1-3, and [D4]. In addition, on every page where there is a siglum number, 'The fruyte' also appears on the same line, slightly inset from the left margin as the siglum number is slightly inset from the right margin. *STC* 22559 has [A1], A2-3, [A4], B[1]-3, [B4-6], C[1]-3, [C4], D[1]-3, [D4-6], E[1]-3, and [E4]; here, 'The fru. of re.' appears on the same line as the siglum number on only some of the pages (B[1], B3, C[1], D[1], D3, and E[1]). Finally of de Worde's editions, *STC* 22560 has [A1], A2-3, [A4], B1-3, [B4], C1-3, [C4], D1-3, [D4], E1-3, [E4], F1-3, and [F4], and in this case 'The fruyte' appears on the siglum number line at the start of each new section (except section A, which starts with the front cover). As has been mentioned, *STC* 22559.5 is half the size of the other four editions, with twice the number of pages; the divisions here are [A1], A2, [A3-8], B[1]-2, [B3-8], C[1]-2, [C3-8], D[1]-2, [D3-8], E[1], and [E2-4].

While it is clear even from this bare outline that de Worde's later two editions

are not merely reprints of one or the other of the earlier versions, the page numbering alone cannot show that, for instance, *STC* 22558 is not simply a reproduction of *STC* 22557. To demonstrate that, the spelling of both editions must also be taken into consideration, since although there is very little significant textual variation between the editions, the variation in spelling is quite marked. Some of this can be attributed to developments in custom and practice over the course of years, but some instances can be due only to the personal preferences of the individual typesetters. In both *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 'Jhesu(s)' predominates, but the later editions all use 'Jesu(s)' instead (although *STC* 22559.5 does have three instances of 'Jhesu(s)'). Similarly, the two earlier editions have 'moder', 'broder', and 'fader', but by the 1530s this older form has been replaced by 'mother', 'brother', and 'father'. However, while *STC* 22557, *STC* 22558, and *STC* 22559 all vary between 'ghost' and 'ghoost' in reference to the Third Person of the Trinity, *STC* 22560 is consistent - and alone - in its use of 'goost', the one case where the most recent edition has the most archaic spelling.[37]

Of the five editions, *STC* 22559 shows the clearest attempt to tidy up the presentation of the text, although it is by no means completely internally

[37] The earliest quotation in the OED entry for 'ghost' containing the form of the word with an 'h' is from c.1500 ('ghost, n.'. OED Online. March 2014. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/78064?rskey=gwXJZT&result=1 (accessed 2 May 2014): usage 2, quotation from the *Chester Play*), although there are also a number of quotations from the early to mid-sixteenth century without an 'h'. *STC* 22559.5 occupies the space in between the two usages, mixing 'gost' with 'ghost' - but always with only one 'o'.

consistent. Words which have been spelled with a 'y' in the earlier editions where modern spelling would have 'i' are frequently thus corrected in *STC* 22559, but quite often the reverse is the case and 'i' has been amended to 'y'. There is a noticeable lack of consistency regarding the treatment of final '-e'; sometimes it has been removed when compared with *STC* 22557, for example, but in other cases it is added in the later edition. Similarly, endings such as '-sse' and '-ll' in *STC* 22557 are often shortened to '-s' and '-l' in both *STC* 22558 and *STC* 22559 (although more often in the latter), although again without consistency as some words are instead lengthened by the addition of letters. Interestingly, although *STC* 22560 retains most of the spelling corrections of *STC* 22559,[38] it has some idiosyncrasies of its own. The use of 'goost' has already been mentioned, and in addition (and somewhat endearingly), 'enemy/ies' is here given throughout as 'ennemy/es', which presumably indicates the personal preference of the typesetter who worked on this edition rather than any generally accepted usage.

The number of actual spelling errors is much greater in *STC* 22558 than in the other three de Worde editions. Some of these may be explained by the possibility of the typesetter working from a poor quality original, so that distinguishing 'n' from 'u', for example, is difficult, as on sig. C3v, line 27, where 'enemyes' becomes 'euemyes'. In other places, though, letters have

[38] Most, but not quite all; there is one instance of 'fader', found in chapter 5. However, one of the other inconsistencies in *STC* 22559, 'burthen' instead of 'burden' (as in *STC* 22557), here reverts to the previous spelling.

simply been missed out; while this may of course be deliberate there are no abbreviation marks given, and some of these shortened words make little or no sense. On sig. [A7v], line 25, what should be 'people' is given as 'peole', while on sig. B2v at line 28 'publycanes' (as in *STC* 22557 sig. B2v, line 27 'frende of publycanes') becomes 'polycanes'. Given the calibre and reputation of de Worde's printing house, there is a reasonable expectation that these basic mistakes should have been picked up by the proofreader before the edition was printed, but the fact that there are so many errors of this kind suggests that this process was not followed quite so rigorously in this case, allowing for the possibility that this particular edition may have been produced especially quickly, maybe in order to meet public demand. A brief analysis of the Handlist of titles printed by de Worde provided by HS Bennett shows that *STC* 22557 was one of 16 books printed by de Worde in 1514, while *STC* 22558 was one of 27 printed in 1517, suggesting that business was indeed brisk by the time of the second edition of *The Fruyte*.[39]

These and the other differences in spelling and layout (the latter being in general more minor than the former) indicate that each new edition was indeed a new printing, and that some care was usually taken in reviewing the text before resetting the formes for printing. Unlike the uncorrected spelling errors

[39] HS Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1952), Appendix I, pp. 239-76. *STC* 22559 was one of 30 books printed by de Worde in 1530, but as observed elsewhere time was clearly taken in preparing this particular edition. In comparison, *STC* 22560 was one of 25 books printed in 1532, and although less carefully set it still does not contain the level of errors of the 1517 edition.

of *STC* 22558, this care can clearly be seen in *STC* 22559, where a proof-reading error was corrected that had not been picked up in the earlier two editions. On the page turn within chapter 16, *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 both have:

> Than one moued in spyryte | whether they wolde slee the not
> Juged to dethe.[40]

However, whoever read through the text when preparing *STC* 22559 recognised the error, and added a word to bring comprehension to the sentence:

> Than one moued in spiryte | *asked* whether they wolde slee the
> not iudged to deth.[41]

It may be significant, though, that *STC* 22560 restores the earlier, incorrect, reading,[42] thus suggesting that the version which was used as the copy-text for the last of the editions printed by de Worde was not the edition printed by him only two years earlier. It is further worth noting that *STC* 22559.5 also has the incorrect reading; in this case, 'spirite' still occurs at the end of a line and 'whether' at the start of the next, although this is in the middle of the page rather than over a page turn.[43] It can therefore further be conjectured that Redman used either *STC* 22557 or *STC* 22558 as the source for his edition, and not *STC* 22559.

Already it can be seen that *The Fruyte* was a text which enjoyed a considerable

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[40] *The Fruyte*, *STC* 22557 sig. C3-C3v and *STC* 22558 sig. C3-C3v, where the spelling also agrees.

[41] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1]-D[1]v, italics added for emphasis. See also section 2.3 below, p. 167, for a discussion of the source of this passage.

[42] *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22560) sig. D3-D3v.

[43] *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22559.5) sig. [C4v], lines 20-21.

amount of attention from those who printed it, which will be further demonstrated in the next section giving an overview of the use of woodcuts in the text. To conclude this section, though, it is worth considering the possibility that there was a specific reason for particular care being taken in the preparation of *STC* 22559, especially since this marked a reissue of the text after a gap of thirteen years (it is also the only edition to have an exact date of publication: 21 May 1530).[44] Mary Erler, the most recent of the few scholars to undertake any substantial work on All Hallows, Symon, and *The Fruyte*, places this edition of the text, and the two which followed it, in the context of the renewed discussion in the 1530s around the translation of Biblical material into English. She notes variously the appointment of John Stokesley as Bishop of London in March 1530, proclamations issued in London in March and June 1530 regarding the printing of scriptural material in English, and the commission of scholars and clerics who met in May 1530 at the command of the king to consider this issue.[45] These elements lead Erler to conclude that

> [t]hough the dating, and hence the sequence of events, is unclear, spring 1530 was clearly a high point in London's struggle over scriptural access, and *Fruyte* should be seen at this time, in its second set of appearances, as a substitute for William Tyndale's New Testament whose revised edition had been printed in Antwerp on January 17, 1530. …
>
> Appulby's meditative presentation of Christ's life,

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[44] *The Fruyte* sig. [E4], lines 19-21.

[45] Mary C Erler, *Reading and Writing During the Dissolution: Monks, Friars, and Nuns 1530-1558*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2013), pp. 29-31.

> sanctioned by an episcopal predecessor, would have appealed to Stokesley as a suitable vehicle for familiarizing the laity with scripture and for stimulating devotion …[46]

These circumstances may also help to explain an apparently innocuous correction in chapter 10 of *STC* 22559, where reflection on Christ's baptism in the Jordan includes the sentence:

> And this thou toke not for thy selfe but for vs, to *haue* therby our baptysme, and to make it a holsome sacrament of saluacyon for vs.[47]

All four other editions of the text here have 'to halowe therby our baptym',[48] in a passage which is an adaptation but not a verbatim translation of the main Latin source. The accepted understanding of Christ's baptism by John was that it was not performed so that he would be cleansed from sin (being by his very nature sinless), 'but in order to confer his regenerative powers on the water', as Rik Van Nieuwenhove puts it in his discussion of Peter Lombard's writing on the subject in the twelfth century.[49] It is therefore probable that there was a particular reason, perhaps influenced by the circumstances outlined by Erler, as to why it was felt appropriate in the edition of 1530 to emphasise the fact that Christ shared the act of baptism with humankind, rather than merely

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[46] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 31-32.

[47] *The Fruyte* sig. [B5]v, lines 25-27, emphasis added.

[48] See *The Fruyte STC* 22557 sig. B1v, line 26; *STC* 22558 sig. B1v, line 24; *STC* 22559.5 sig. [B4]v, line 2; and *STC* 22560 sig. C1v, line 26. All of these editions omit the 's' in 'baptism', although *STC* 22559.5 adds a final 'e'.

[49] Rik Van Nieuwenhove, *An Introduction to Medieval Theology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2012), p. 159.

sanctifying it. There does not seem to have been a specific Lollard (or Lollard-influenced) position on this aspect of baptism which this amendment to *The Fruyte* may have been designed to combat, but further research beyond the scope of this thesis may yet reveal additional information in this regard.

It is already becoming clear that *The Fruyte* was regarded at the time of its original issue as something significant, as demonstrated by the care taken in producing at least one of the editions, although as previously mentioned the basic evidence of its popularity is provided by the mere existence of five separate editions. One of the elements which further raises the standing of *The Fruyte* within its contemporary context, though, is the use of illustrative woodcuts, to which this introduction now turns.

1.3 The woodcuts

As has been touched on already, and as will be discussed further elsewhere, this thesis owes much to the work of Mary Erler on *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*. However, this section and the discussion in chapter 3 on the use of illustrations in the text[50] are equally indebted to the unparalleled research of Edward Hodnett, whose survey and catalogue of the woodcuts appearing in books printed in the early years of that technology's use in England sheds much more light on the place of the illustrations in *The Fruyte* than would otherwise be possible. Originally published in 1935 and updated by Hodnett himself in 1973, his *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* aims to list all cuts appearing in books printed during that period by Caxton, de Worde, Pynson, and those whom he terms 'Minor Printers', noting the cuts' composition, size, condition, and the texts in which they occur.[51] It is this last feature which may prove to be the most useful, as it gives some indication of the type of material with which *The Fruyte* was being grouped, at least in the minds of those preparing it for publication.

In his Foreword, Hodnett observes that

> [i]n an effort to give some sort of coherent statement of the material in the Catalogue and the Bibliography I have written the Introduction. This consists of following chronologically the output of each printer with remarks on the important books,

[50] See section 3.2 below.

[51] Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (revised edition 1973), in the Foreword at p. viii.

series of cuts, and single cuts.[52]

Given the prevailing lack of scholarly and critical focus on *The Fruyte* which will be discussed elsewhere, it might not be expected to find this text included in these 'remarks', but Hodnett's discussion in the Introduction of de Worde's output includes the following:

> … for something new we must proceed to one of the most popular of the quarto religious books that in the sixteenth century largely superseded the earlier folios - the *Fruyte of Redempcyon* by Simon the Anker of the church of All Hallows, London Wall. The first of the four extant editions, that of 1514 (which has been facsimiled), may be taken as typical of De Worde's way of illustrating a book. In forty-eight pages he inserts nineteen cuts, and they represent one odd block and members of seven series ...[53]

To put this in context, earlier in the Introduction Hodnett observes that '[w]hether by accident or deliberate thought, De Worde occasionally used cuts in something besides a hopelessly haphazard way'.[54] The Introduction provides an overview of each printer's output, primarily chronologically, and this somewhat caustic (but not untypical) comment comes in Hodnett's discussion of works printed in the 1490s, while de Worde was still apparently experimenting with both cutters (of varied skill) and methods of placing cuts within texts. Most of the titles cited by Hodnett to this point are secular, but he

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[52] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. xi.

[53] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 27. The reference to 'four' editions is, of course, only to those by de Worde and so does not include *STC* 22559.5 by Redman, which is considered elsewhere in Hodnett's discussion.

[54] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 13.

also comments that

> [b]efore he left Westminster about the beginning of 1501 for Fleet Street, De Worde had printed at least two dozen illustrated religious works besides those already mentioned, but he was content to limit himself to the use of a cut or two ...[55]

It would therefore appear that the 'something new' which Hodnett sees in de Worde's approach to *The Fruyte* was the inclusion of more illustrations than had previously been the case in other religious texts which de Worde had produced. That Hodnett did see something of significance in this particular text is emphasised by his somewhat despairing statement, less than halfway through his assessment of de Worde's output, that

> [a]s we move into the sixteenth century and contemplate the remainder of De Worde's career, we are confronted by an appalling number of illustrated works, and we must perforce curtail our observations by noting only those cuts and series of cuts that recommend themselves for some particular reason.[56]

The Fruyte obviously recommended itself to Hodnett, which suggests that once again this text had more importance than might otherwise be thought to be the case.

The woodcuts used to illustrate the editions of *The Fruyte* printed by de Worde appear on the front cover, and within the text in chapters 1 to 11, 13 to 15, 19,

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[55] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 16.

[56] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 16-17. Given Hodnett's tendency to an acerbic tone, it is perhaps surprising, especially in the light of his earlier comments, that he does not instead refer to 'a number of appalling illustrated works'!

and 28 to 30, illustrating the subject matter of the chapter concerned:

Cover: the Crucifixion;

Chapter 1: Christ blessing a kneeling figure;

Chapter 2: the Trinity;

Chapter 3: the Annunciation;

Chapter 4: the Nativity;

Chapter 5: the Circumcision;

Chapter 6: the Adoration of the Magi;

Chapter 7: the Presentation in the Temple/the Circumcision;

Chapter 8: the Flight into Egypt;

Chapter 9: Christ teaching in the Temple as a child;

Chapter 10: the Baptism by John;

Chapter 11: the Temptation in the Wilderness;

Chapter 13: the Entry into Jerusalem;[57]

Chapter 14: Christ praying in Gethsemane while the disciples sleep;

Chapter 15: the Betrayal by Judas;

Chapter 19: the Crucifixion;

Chapter 28: the Deposition;[58]

Chapter 29: the Resurrection;

Chapter 30: the Ascension.

STC 22559, the edition used as the main reference point for this thesis, includes one additional cut not present in de Worde's other editions, at chapter 31 on Pentecost. The illustrations to chapters 7 and 10 are omitted in *STC* 22558, and

[57] In all four editions, this image is at the foot of a page and so is placed next to the last lines of chapter 12 and the heading to chapter 13: *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 sig. B3, *STC* 22559 sig. C[1], *STC* 22560 sig. C3. The body of chapter 13 starts at the head of the next page in all editions.

[58] Again, this image is placed at the foot of a page next to the end of one chapter and the heading of the next (*STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 sig. D2, *STC* 22559 sig. E2, *STC* 22560 sig. F2), with the text of the chapter beginning at the head of the following page.

the arrangement is different again in *STC* 22559.5, as will be discussed further below.[59]

Seven of the cuts appear in all four de Worde editions, and five of these are part of a larger series which will be discussed both elsewhere in this section and in further detail in section 3.3 below. The other two cuts are the illustrations to chapters 1 and 2 respectively, and according to Hodnett the latter is used nowhere else during this period. This image is of the Trinity, depicting God the Father crowned and enthroned, supporting Jesus on the cross with the Dove of the Spirit in the top left-hand corner (figure 1):[60]

Figure 1: illustration to chapter 2, *STC* 22559 sig. A3v
(also *STC* 22557-58, and *STC* 22560)

According to Hodnett's cataloguing sequence this cut is not part of a series and its neighbours in the list are merely those of a similar size,[61] so there is nothing

[59] *STC* 22557 uses (in order) Hodnett's numbers 779, 443, 393, 387, 625, 628, 627, 734, 629, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 630, 360, 747, and 348. *STC* 22558 has numbers 779, 443, 393, 387, 625, 628, 627, 629, 318, 840, 324, 339, 340, 630, 346, 347, and 348. *STC* 22559 uses numbers 860, 443, 393, 417, 625, 628, 627, 637, 629, 640, 641, 642, 645, 649, 650, 630, 664, 668, 672, and 352. Finally of the de Worde editions, *STC* 22560 has numbers 860, 443, 393, 596, 625, 628, 627, 734, 629, 736, 737, 642, 739, 649, 650, 630, 360, 669, and 348.

[60] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 393.

[61] Within the divisions by publisher, Hodnett lists the cuts by series or as miscellaneous, further sorting each category by size (from small to large); see his Foreword, p. viii.

in his survey to help answer the question of why this particular cut was not used in any other text of the period. Since Hodnett provides an index only by size, rather than by subject, it is not immediately possible to tell how popular an image this particular depiction of the Trinity was, although its use in *The Fruyte* does give a further indication of the orthodox nature of the text.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, John Wyclif and other Lollard writers had criticised the use of images in relation to religious teaching and worship, arguing that God himself had forbidden the ancient Israelites to make graven images since this led to the danger of idolatry, where the image was worshipped instead of what it represented, ie the truly divine.[62] Although Wyclif was in some respects more tolerant of this issue than were later Lollards (Lawrence G Duggan calls him 'uncharacteristically moderate' on this subject),[63] and conceded that images could be beneficial in this context, he and they alike took particular exception to the portrayal of the Trinity in the form as depicted in this particular woodcut, that of an old man, a younger man crucified, and a dove.[64] However, anti-Lollards refuted the suggestion that representing the three persons of the Trinity in this way could lead the uneducated laity into error and heresy. Writers such as Roger Dymmok, in his treatise *Liber contra xii*

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[62] See, for example, WR Jones, 'Lollards and Images: The Defense of Religious Art in Later Medieval England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34.1 (1973), 27-50; also Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2002), chapter 1, particularly pp. 29, 34, and 206 n. 60.

[63] Lawrence G Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', *Word & Image* 5.3 (1989), 227-51, at pp. 234-35.

[64] Jones, 'Lollards and Images', p. 30.

errores et hereses lollardorum, which was produced in response to the *Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards* posted at Westminster Hall during the parliamentary session of 1395, instead argued that in this case, as in so many others, the new covenant had replaced the old.[65] As Kathleen Kamerick summarises,

> The Incarnation of Christ marked the beginning of legitimate images of God. Once God had taken on a human body and lived on earth, then he could be represented in bodily likeness. Even the Trinity could be represented in various forms in order to express the spiritual truth of the unity of the three persons.[66]

Kamerick also quotes Dymmok's dismissal of the Lollards' concerns about misplaced adoration, specifically of the image of the Trinity but also applicable to all devotional uses of images: '[a]nd if the laity imagine something false on account of that picture, it is to be blamed on them, not the image.'[67] Although by the time of the publication of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* 120 years later concerns about heresy and idolatry had changed and developed, the use of this particular image in all editions of the text, including that printed by Robert Redman (although in a different woodcut from that used by de Worde), clearly marks it as coming from within the accepted and approved tradition of the faith.

Five of the other cuts which are common to all the de Worde editions are part of

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[65] See Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, pp. 26-34.

[66] Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 29.

[67] Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 34, citing HS Cronin (ed), *Rogeri Dymmok liber contra xii errores et hereses Lollardorum*, London: Wyclif Society (1922), p. 199.

the series classified by Hodnett as '47 x 32 (Metal)'.[68] There are a total of twelve cuts in this series as Hodnett describes it, so almost half of them are used in *The Fruyte*, at chapters 4, 6, 5, 8, and 19 (in the order in which they are listed in Hodnett's catalogue). None of these cuts is listed as having been used before 1502, and *STC* 22560 is often given by Hodnett as the last book in which they appear (although some of them do appear in an edition of John Mirk's *Festial* dated 23 October 1532, *STC* 17975). The majority of the cuts in this series depict events relating to Mary (although the last three, which are not used in *The Fruyte*, show Bathsheba, Death, and John of Patmos respectively),[69] and apart from *The Fruyte* they tend to appear in Books of Hours of Mary, editions of the *Golden Legend*, St Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*, and various editions of the *Festial*.[70] It is therefore likely that readers of *The Fruyte*, of whichever edition, may have come across familiar images in the midst of an unfamiliar text, and therefore been reassured of this text's acceptability by the use of images which were recognised has having appeared elsewhere in other similarly orthodox works.

The remaining image common to all four editions printed by de Worde is that at chapter 1, and which could be presumed to represent either Symon, or the reader, or both (figure 2):

(LC) A man kneeling in prayer on a pavement of irregular

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[68] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 625, 627, 628, 629, and 630.

[69] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 632-633a.

[70] See section 3.3 below for a detailed discussion of connections to be made between these and other texts by means of the use of these and other woodcuts.

stones, his face towards the right. (back) His hat. A wall containing three windows and an engaged column. (R) Jesus in a black and white cruciform nimbus, his bare right foot extended. Pavement and wall as (L), but two windows. The block is split down the middle.[71]

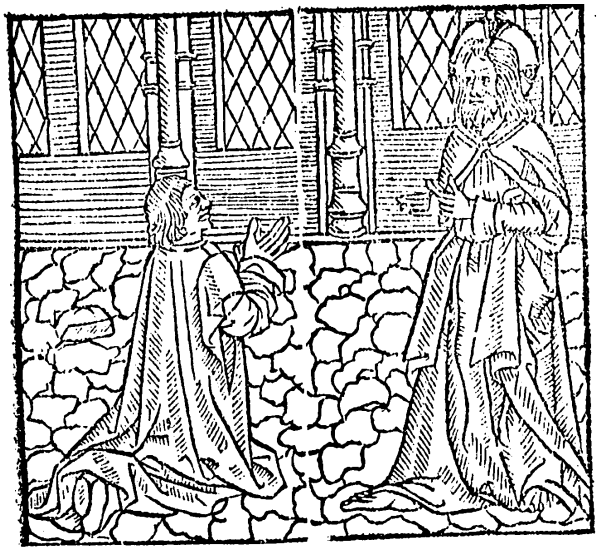

Figure 2: illustration to chapter 1, *STC* 22559 sig. A3
(also *STC* 22557-58, and *STC* 22560)

A closer examination, however, shows that since the kneeling figure is not tonsured he cannot be a priest, and therefore (presuming that de Worde or his illustrator placed enough importance on this point) is better viewed as representing the lay reader of the text. In any case, since Symon's prayer to the reader appears at the end of the book, it is only with hindsight and re-reading of the text that the possible identification of this figure with the author could be made. On the basis that books such as this would be read more than once, this thus adds another layer to the reading experience; the first encounter with the text is solely the reader's, but with repetition may come elements of

[71] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 443, which is given as figure 30 in his selection of facsimiles between pp. 460 and 463.

identification with the author.[72]

The first use of this cut is given by Hodnett as possibly 1500, and it appears that it was still in use after the last publication of *The Fruyte*, although its condition seems to have been deteriorating by this point.[73] Although there a less clear pattern of usage here than with the Marian series discussed above, between the years 1500 and 1532 (according to Hodnett)[74] this cut appears in two editions of *Remors of conscyence*,[75] two editions of *Dystruccyon of Jherusalem*,[76] two editions of *Peniteas cito libellus*,[77] two editions of Bernard's *Golden Epistle*,[78] a tract entitled *Exornatorum Curatorum*,[79] and two texts nominally produced by other printers but likely to have been under the general oversight of de Worde, *Epystle of prayer* printed by Henry Pepwell on 16 November 1521[80] and *Boke of a Ghoostly*

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[72] See also section 3.2 below, pp. 225-28, for a more detailed consideration of the use of this image in *The Fruyte*.

[73] Again, see section 3.3, pp. 273-76, for a discussion of the connections to be made via this image.

[74] See Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 175-6. The dating of all of these publications is his. A search of the *Short Title Catalogue* for these titles shows that in some cases the dates of publication of the individual texts as given by Hodnett have been revised by the editors of the second edition of the *STC*, so that the period of use of this cut may actually have been from 1510 to 1534. Hodnett also lists an undated book entitled *Communycacyon bytwene god and man*, but this is actually a duplicate reference to *STC* 20882.

[75] *STC* 20881.3 and *STC* 20882.

[76] *STC* 14518 and *STC* 14519. Only the left-hand half of the cut is used in *STC* 14518, as noted by Hodnett; *STC* 14519 is not available via Early English Books Online (http://eebo.chadwyck.com), so it has not been possible to check if the whole cut is used here, although Hodnett does not indicate partial use in this case.

[77] *STC* 20079 and *STC* 20080.

[78] *STC* 1912 and *STC* 1913.

[79] *STC* 10631.

[80] *STC* 20972, which includes amongst other texts a selection of extracts from *The Boke of Margery Kempe*.

fader printed by John Skot for de Worde before 1530.[81] It is therefore possible that this image, too, may have been familiar to the original readers of *The Fruyte*, and thus have been associated in the minds of those readers with the advice and teaching contained in other texts which were already part of their instructive reading. This contrasts with the treatment accorded to Richard Rolle when de Worde printed his *Contemplacyons* in 1506, as Hodnett observes that 'De Worde gave the book a little special attention by having a cut (no. 445) of a hermit made to represent the author'.[82]

If the presumption is made that de Worde chose the image used at chapter 1 of *The Fruyte* irrespective of the non-clerical status of the figure depicted, then this representation of the author in an illustration in his text in this way was following the precedent of the manuscript tradition. Maidie Hilmo notes that the attention paid to the creation of images of the divine

> also made the makers of images self-conscious about what they were doing as shown, for instance, in their own self-portraits, often kneeling before an image of the Creator, as in the case of the tenth-century Dunstan and of the thirteenth-century Matthew Paris.[83]

However, the depiction here goes one stage further than those of Dunstan or Paris; the generic figure here possibly representing Symon is shown kneeling

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[81] *STC* 3288.

[82] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 20. He also says that this was 'apparently the first printed edition' of this text.

[83] Maidie Hilmo, *Medieval Images, Icons, and Illustrated English Literary Texts: from the Ruthwell Cross to the Ellesmere Chaucer*, Aldershot: Ashgate (2004), p. 28.

not in front of an image of Christ, but in front of Christ himself. Moreover the background to the image does not suggest that this personal encounter is taking place in the heavenly kingdom, but in a more earthly setting. Since by extension this figure can also be seen as representing the reader (and indeed this may be a more likely representation), and since the illustrations will have been the printer's choice rather than the author's, then the claim apparently made by de Worde for *The Fruyte* is that reading this text and following the example of Symon in prayer will bring the reader - who is to be humble and penitent, as demonstrated by the kneeling posture - into the very presence of God, as God comes into our world in the form of Jesus Christ.

Hodnett's detailed catalogue also makes it clear that there are several cuts which appear only in editions of *The Fruyte*, although - unlike the cut of the Trinity discussed above - they do not appear in all of de Worde's four editions of the text. Of these, all but one are classified by Hodnett as belonging to particular series, although it should be noted that not all the cuts in these series necessarily occur in editions of *The Fruyte*. Cuts from the '57x47 Life of Christ series' illustrate chapters 7, 9, 10, and 13 in both *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22560, and additionally chapters 11, 14, 15, and 29 in *STC* 22557 alone.[84] While not a series which de Worde appears to have used very often, it seems to have been one which he or his workmen remembered using for the first edition of *The Fruyte*

[84] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 734, 736, 737, and 739 (both editions), and nos. 738, 740, and 741 (*STC* 22557 only). This series on the Life of Christ is unusual in that while running to a total of 15 cuts, it does not include the Nativity but instead begins with the Circumcision.

when it came to setting the formes for the last edition. Other texts which use cuts from this series (albeit sparingly) range in date from 1519 to 1532, and Hodnett comments on the use of this series in his Introduction, offering a possible explanation for the infrequency of their use:

> Eight of the cuts [in *STC* 22557] introduce a new series (nos. 734-48), which closely resembles a set in a *Rosarye of our lady* printed abroad, perhaps at Antwerp about 1510. Not all of the cuts are by the same hand, however. Seven more blocks belonging to the same series appear later. Two are in small devotional works printed by Robert Copland. Apart from other evidence that these two cuts are De Worde's is the fact that a cut of the raising of the sponge to the crucified Jesus appears in the 1521 *Passyon of our lorde*, next in Copland's 1529 *Xv. oos*, and then in De Worde's 1532 *Passyon of Christ*. It is barely possibly that borrowing by Copland explains why the series is not represented in either the 1517 or 1530 editions of the *Fruyte of Redempcyon*, though it is in the 1532 edition.[85]

The cut which appears only in a single edition of *The Fruyte* and which is not part of a series (and thus is classed by Hodnett as 'miscellaneous') is of the Annunciation, and illustrates chapter 3 in *STC* 22559.[86] This is one of only three of the twenty cuts in this edition (including the illustration on the front cover) which does not belong to a series, the other two being the Trinity and the figure kneeling before Christ. As has been mentioned above, this third of de Worde's

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[85] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 27-28.

[86] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 417.

editions is by far the best presented, so when choosing the illustrations to accompany the text in this case, he appears to have selected images which - for the most part, and either by themselves or as part of a series - were of a known quality. Once again, they would therefore have been familiar to many readers of the text, providing a point of focus and stability if one were needed.

By comparison with the four de Worde editions, despite having twice the number of pages Redman's edition of 1531 has noticeably fewer illustrations. It should be noted, though, that Hodnett describes this edition of the *The Fruyte* as 'Redman's chief venture in illustrated books',[87] which again may give some indication of the popularity of the text at the time, suggesting that Redman may have felt that he ought to attempt to match de Worde and make an unaccustomed effort as regards illustration when producing his version of the text. Here the cuts appear on the front cover, the inside front cover, and at chapters 1 to 8, 15, 19, 29, and 31:

Cover: the Crucifixion;
Inside cover: the Crucifixion ;
Chapter 1: Christ and an angel;
Chapter 2: the Trinity;
Chapter 3: the Annunciation;
Chapter 4: the Nativity;
Chapter 5: the Circumcision;
Chapter 6: the Adoration of the Magi;

[87] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 67.

Chapter 7: the Presentation in the Temple/the Circumcision;

Chapter 8: the Flight into Egypt;

Chapter 15: the Betrayal by Judas;

Chapter 19: the Crucifixion;

Chapter 29: the Resurrection;

Chapter 31: Pentecost.[88]

In de Worde's four editions of the text two different cuts of the Crucifixion appear on the front cover; *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 use the same image,[89] while *STC* 22559 has a different cut from the earlier two editions which is then re-used for *STC* 22560.[90] However, Redman uses different cuts again for the front cover and the inside front cover of his edition, although like the two cuts used by de Worde for the covers of his editions, those used in *STC* 22559.5 are not unique to *The Fruyte*.[91]

The only cut to appear in *STC* 22559.5 which is also used in the de Worde editions is that which illustrates chapter 3, being also found in *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558.[92] Of the remaining eleven illustrations, Hodnett classes ten of them together as the 'Fruite of Redempcion series', although he does note that '[n]os. 2333-42 do not form a true series, but as they do not appear elsewhere, they are

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[88] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 2384, 1475, 2333, 2334, 387, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, and 564.

[89] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 779.

[90] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 860.

[91] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 2384 and 1475. It should also be noted that none of the cover images are the same as the cut which accompanies chapter 19 (no. 630) in the de Worde editions, which is itself common to all four of these editions. See sections 3.2 (particularly pp. 221-25) and 3.3 below (especially pp. 265-73) for considerations of the use of cuts of the Crucifixion in *The Fruyte*.

[92] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 387.

listed together for convenience.'[93] However, in compiling the list of corrections to entries which accompanies the revised edition of his catalogue, Hodnett notes that one of the cuts in this series, no. 2334, is also found in a letter of confraternity which has been attributed to Pynson's press in 1529. He further comments that

> [i]f this assignment is correct, then probably some of the other cuts, perhaps all, in Redman's 1531 *Fruite of Redempcion* first belonged to Pynson.[94]

More detailed research beyond the scope of this thesis would be needed to determine whether these cuts did indeed belong to Pynson before they were used by Redman in 1531, but either way it is clear that unlike in the case of de Worde's editions of *The Fruyte*, the majority of the illustrations would have been unfamiliar to those reading the text in this edition.

Chapter 3 of this thesis considers in more depth the relationship between the text and the images, and the implications for the reader of the use and positioning of the woodcuts, but already it can be seen that both Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman regarded *The Fruyte* as a text which was notable enough for them to adopt an approach to illustrating it which was different from that taken in their previous work. This adds to the growing sense that this little book was regarded at the time of its publication as possessing some

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[93] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 439.

[94] Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535 Additions & Corrections*, London: The Bibliographical Society (1973), p. 68.

particular merit and significance.

Having described the text, its format (including woodcuts), and the surviving copies, it is now appropriate to review what others have written about both *The Fruyte* and Symon Appulby. As will be seen, previous work has not always been accurate, not only in assessing the worth of this text, but also in factual details about it. The introductory overview provided thus far should therefore assist in considering the errors and omissions of some previous scholars, as well as in recognising those accurate foundations on which this study seeks to build.

1.4 History of previous scholarship

Where literature reviews in other studies are able to focus solely on a particular area of consideration, this study of necessity must aim to include as much as possible of previous work on *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* and Symon Appulby. This is partly because this study seeks to build on previous approaches to different aspects of the text, combining these into a whole, but also because the inherent importance of the text has often been overlooked or misinterpreted by other scholars, points which the discussion here aims to correct. Mention was made in section 1.1 of references to *The Fruyte* in the work of scholars and antiquarians of the eighteenth century,[95] thus indicating that knowledge of its existence has never been completely lost. However, it was only in the twentieth century that any sustained attention began to be paid to either the text or its author, and even then a comprehensive picture took time to start to emerge.

Any study of anchorites or texts associated with anchorites has to start with Rotha Mary Clay's seminal work on English hermits and anchorites, which by a happy coincidence was published in 1914, exactly four hundred years after the first edition of *The Fruyte* and one hundred years before this present research.[96] *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* is, in the words of EA Jones, who has taken on the task of attempting to update Clay's survey, 'still the only systematic

[95] See pp. 26-27 above.

[96] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, London: Methuen (1914).

attempt to describe the solitary life in medieval England'.[97] Clay primarily organises her study geographically, focusing on location (particularly in relation to hermits, as opposed to anchorites),[98] but she does occasionally group the human subjects by theme, which leads to the following list:

> The literary recluses of medieval England include Simon Stock, the hymn-writer, and Thomas Scrope, the historian; Geoffrey, the grammarian, and George Ripley, the alchemist; Margery Kempe and Julian, the mystics; Richard Rolle, composer of poetry and prose, and Symon, compiler of a manual of meditations.[99]

However, Clay's actual discussion of Symon is extremely brief, since most of the three pages which relate to him are taken up with quotations from *The Fruyte*. Clay also attempts little analysis of any depth, which is not entirely surprising given the scope of her book as a whole, leaving the reader with at best only a partial understanding of why Symon deserves to be mentioned in the same sentence as Richard Rolle:

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[97] EA Jones, 'Rotha Clay's Hermits and Anchorites of England', *Monastic Research Bulletin* 3 (1997), 46-48, at p. 46.

[98] Elsewhere, Jones describes Clay's method of classification as 'taxonomical' and 'derived ultimately from the biological sciences', but concludes that 'this system of classification is a convenient and unobtrusive way of organizing a potentially bewildering mass of material'; see EA Jones, 'Christina of Markyate and the hermits and anchorites of England', in Samuel Fanous & Henrietta Leyser (eds), *Christina of Markyate: A twelfth-century holy woman*, London & New York: Routledge (2005), pp. 229-39, at p. 230.

[99] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 171. Since this was written over twenty years before the discovery and publication of the manuscript of *The Boke of Margery Kempe*, the identification of Kempe as an anchorite is based on the brief description in Henry Pepwell's 1521 edition of extracts (*STC* 20972), a description which does not appear in de Worde's original edition of the extracts (*STC* 14924, printed in 1501), and which has since been recognised as being extremely incorrect.

> Symon 'the Anker of London Wall' was enclosed at the city church of Allhallows. 'Sir Symon' or 'Master Anker' is frequently mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts. He was the compiler of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, an English manual containing meditations on the life of Christ, with appropriate prayers and thanksgivings. … What the pious priest saw 'with the inward eye of his mind', that he set down for the help of the others, knowing that there were few books of devotion in the vulgar tongue. … In the postscript the anchorite adds a personal touch, and pleads for the prayers of such as had derived benefit from his work. … Here then, on the eve of the Reformation, we leave Symon, the last of our literary recluses, a simple student of the Scriptures.[100]

Clay's closing assessment of Symon is somewhat dismissive, as well as somewhat contradictory; far from being a 'simple student of the Scriptures', in order to have produced his compilation of meditations, prayers, and thanksgivings, he must have had a good knowledge of the source material from which he was working, as indeed more recent examination of *The Fruyte* has shown (to be discussed further in chapter 2).

Despite this apparent dismissal of Symon's skills, it is significant that Clay clearly views him as being part of a tradition of writers whose personal journeys of faith lead them to shut themselves away from the world, but who produce texts which are aimed at engaging with that very world. Yet Clay's

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[100] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 180-82. The quotation cited by Clay is paraphrased slightly from *The Fruyte* sig [D6v], line 11 (chapter 25).

grouping of Symon with these other 'literary recluses' also overlooks the importance of his dating. Clay notes that although Stock died in the mid thirteenth century, his legend did not circulate until the fourteenth century,[101] and the others in her list similarly date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Symon therefore stands alone at the very end of the medieval period (although Norman Tanner notes that according to Scrope's sixteenth-century biographer, he died 'in 1492 aged almost 100',[102] bringing him closest of the others on the list to the sixteenth century), and beyond observing that this was 'the eve of the Reformation', Clay here offers no reflections on the possible implications of Symon's book appearing at this critical point in the religious life of England.

A footnote to Clay's account refers to only three editions of the text, those of 1514, 1530, and 1532 (ie, *STC* 22557, *STC* 22559, and *STC* 22560).[103] This is similarly the case in Charles Welch's Introduction to his transcription of the Churchwardens' Accounts of All Hallows and facsimile of the 1514 edition, which was privately printed two years before Clay's study, where he says that '[t]he book appeared in 1514 … a second edition appear[ing] in 1530, and a

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[101] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 171-72.

[102] Norman Tanner, 'Religious Practice in Norwich', in his collection *The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval England and Western Europe*, London: IB Tauris (2009), pp. 59-78, at p. 62. (This chapter was originally published as chapter 6 in Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (eds), *Medieval Norwich*, London: Hambledon and London (2004); see Tanner, *The Ages of Faith*, p. 208.)

[103] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 180 n. 2.

third in 1532'.[104] At the start of the twentieth century, therefore, it would appear that - on the evidence of Clay and Welch - the existence of only three of the five editions was known, despite references in earlier works such as Ames and Herbert to the edition published in 1517 (see further below in this section). Neither Welch nor Clay (nor, for that matter, the eighteenth-century sources) refer to the edition produced by Robert Redman, yet this is the only edition of *The Fruyte* to be mentioned by E Gordon Duff in his survey of early printers and associated trades, which was published in the decade before both Clay's work and Welch's:

> Among the more interesting books printed by Redman may be mentioned editions of the *Life of Christ*, *The Frute* [sic] *of Redempcion*, *The Pomander of Prayer*, Fewterer's *Myrrour of Christe's Passion* written in 1533 and printed the year after, and Whitford's *Dayly Exercise* …[105]

Welch's brief discussion of Symon and *The Fruyte* serves as a conclusion to his overview of All Hallows and its succession of anchorites, for as mentioned while he was certainly the last, Symon was not the first professional solitary to have occupied the anchorhold on this site. Unlike many of the other places of Christian worship to be found in the City of London in the early sixteenth century (which Susan Brigden calculates to have been in the order of one

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[104] Charles Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall, in the City of London. 33 Henry VI to 27 Henry VIII (AD 1455 - AD 1536) to which is added a facsimile of 'The Fruyte of Redempcyon' by Symon the Anker of London Wall*, London: privately printed (1912), at p. xxxiii.

[105] E Gordon Duff, *The printers, stationers, and bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1906), p. 175.

hundred parish churches and thirty-nine religious houses, plus St Paul's Cathedral),[106] the church of All Hallows London Wall still survives, although not as Symon would have known it. The medieval church, which was built on the ruins of the Roman wall circling the city, survived the Great Fire in 1666 but gradually fell into disrepair (although it remained in use) and was rebuilt by George Dance the Younger in the 1760s,[107] and it is this building which still stands in the City of London at the junction of London Wall with Old Broad Street, a couple of hundred yards west of St Botolph's Church on Bishopsgate and a similar distance south of Liverpool Street Station. Both Clay's work and the article by Miss M Reddan in the *Victoria County History* volume on London give some background to the anchorhold located at the medieval church of All Hallows, although naturally more detail is given in Welch's introduction to the churchwardens' accounts than in either Clay or Reddan.

Reddan refers to an unnamed anchoress as being *in situ* in 1459, succeeded by one William Lucas, who in turn died in 1486.[108] Welch's introduction to the transcribed churchwardens' accounts expands on this, noting that there had been anchorites at All Hallows since at least 1314, although not necessarily continuously.[109] The early fourteenth-century grant which Welch cites as

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[106] Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1989), p. 6.

[107] Donald Findlay, *All Hallows London Wall: A History and Description*, London: privately printed (1985), particularly pp. 11-17.

[108] Miss M Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', in William Page (ed), *A History of London* volume 1, London: Constable & Co (1909), pp. 585-88, at p. 587.

[109] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

earliest evidence of an anchorite at All Hallows refers to 'a certain tourelle on London Wall, near Bishopesgate', and Welch glosses 'tourelle' as 'turella, a turret or little tower'.[110] Reference to a 'turret' on London Wall near Bishopsgate therefore strongly suggests that Sir John de Elyngham (to whom occupancy of the turret was given by the grant) was indeed one of Symon's predecessors at All Hallows. The vestry of the present church is in the shape of a semi-circle on the north wall of the nave, and Findlay's brief history of the church, although describing the present building, notes that it

> takes its descriptive sub-title from the wall built in c. 200 which encircled the City of London from Roman times until the late Middle Ages. Indeed, the north side of the church is built over the City wall itself and the shape of the vestry is determined by the semi-circular bastion which forms its foundation. Excavations carried out in 1906 … revealed several items of interest and confirmed the evidence afforded by old maps and views. Roman remains were comparatively scanty, but the Roman wall rose from considerable depth through 11 feet to terminate at the modern ground level. … although much ancient masonry was removed when the church was built, the original bastion, constructed of large well-dressed blocks of stone of a later Roman date, remains under the vestry. Nothing of Roman date can be seen above ground today, and all that appears in the churchyard is mediaeval and later.[111]

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[110] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xxix, quoting the City Records, Letter-Book E, f. 27.

[111] Findlay, *All Hallows London Wall*, p. 36. There are stones visible in the interior of the north wall of the crypt of the church which are understood to be Roman, although it is likely that these have been re-placed several times rather than remaining *in situ* for the better part of eighteen centuries.

Since enough material from the Roman wall survived to provide foundations for the construction of the present semi-circular vestry in the eighteenth century, then it is very likely that the 'tourelle' occupied by Elyngham and his anchoritic successors was also built on these Roman remains.

John Schofield's archaeological survey of the Saxon and medieval City churches, published in 1994, includes a drawing of how All Hallows appeared during this period, taken from a copperplate map of the City made around 1559.[112] However, although this line drawing shows a number of buildings attached to or associated with the church itself (and indeed is a more detailed representation than some of the others taken from the same map), since the view is from the south the city wall can be seen behind the church but the anchorhold, which is presumably on the north side of the church, is not depicted. Schofield confirms elsewhere in his survey that 'the wall of the nave [of All Hallows] was formed by the City wall',[113] and reproduces an engraving of the church viewed from the south-east made in the early eighteenth century (before the church was rebuilt), where the remains of the City wall are just visible to the north of the nave but which again gives no indication of the location of the anchorhold, although this had probably been converted to other

[112] John Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 45 (1994), 23-146, at p. 31 and number 7 in fig. 8 on p. 36.

[113] Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', p. 48.

uses by that date.[114] In fact, Schofield fails to mention the anchorhold at All Hallows at all, despite several references to the church's possessions and structures which are taken from Welch's transcription of the churchwardens' accounts, and for which there is as little direct archaeological evidence remaining as there is for the anchorhold. This oversight is perplexing, all the more so because he does refer to the location of an anchorite at St Botolph's Bishopsgate, a hundred yards or so from All Hallows.[115] A revised and shorter version of Schofield's survey, published three years later, repeats this omission, although this time the reference to the St Botolph's anchorite is also omitted.[116]

Returning to the known records, and expanding on the details given by Reddan, Welch notes that there were actually two anchorites at All Hallows in the nineteen months covered by the accounts for 1486-87, presumably successively rather than concurrently, as the accounts show receipts within the same period for tolling the bell for both Lucas and his unnamed but short-lived successor:

> Item Resseyved of the executors of Syr William lukas the olde Ancker for the grete Bell iij s iiij d
>
> …
>
> Item Resseyved ffor the Berynge of the nve Ancker that is to say

[114] Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', p. 53, fig. 25; this engraving is also reproduced in Findlay, *All Hallows London Wall*, on p. 7.

[115] Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches', p. 74.

[116] John Schofield, 'Medieval parish churches in the City of London: the archaeological evidence', in Katherine L French, Gary G Gibbs & Beat A Kümin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (1997), pp. 35-55.

for the grete Bell for his knyll vj s viij d[117]

There is no suggestion, though, that Symon in turn immediately succeeded the second of these anchorites. Mary Erler has identified the second anchorite to be buried in this period as 'probably a man named Robert Lynton', and in turn his successor (or possibly his successor-but-one) as 'Giles', who was certainly in residence in 1491.[118] Indeed, combining her most recent work and some of Welch's suggestions of a century earlier allow a timeline of occupants of the All Hallows anchorhold to be constructed as follows:

Sir John de Elyngham (possible, c. 1314)
Margaret Burre (died 1402)
1457-58 to 1474-75: anchorites present but details unknown
William Lucas (enclosed before 1477-78, died 1486-87)
Robert Lynton (enclosed and died 1486-87)
1488 to 1491: anchorite(s?) present but details unknown
Giles (in situ 1491)
1495-96 to 1511: anchorites present but details unknown
Symon Appulby (enclosed 26 June 1513, died after 6 June 1537)

Symon himself is not referred to by name in the accounts until about 1513, and both Reddan and Clay (the latter in the 1953 article which revisits some of her earlier work in more detail) note that he was professed as an anchorite in this year in a ceremony which took place at the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate,

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[117] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 33-34. The heading for this 'year' indicates that the period of accounting in this case ran from 6 November 1486 (2 Henry VII) to 21 June 1487 (3 Henry VII), and indeed is described as 'the space of ayer and a half vj wekys and v Daies' (p. 33).

[118] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 23-24.

which is not very far from All Hallows:

> Simon Appulby, priest, made his profession as an anchorite in 1513 before the bishop of London in the priory of Holy Trinity ...[119]
>
> There is good reason to identify ['Symon the Anker of London Wall'] with Master Simon Appulby, priest, who on June 26th, 1513, made his profession as an anchorite before Richard, bishop of London. It is significant that the ceremony takes place at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a priory under the bishop's sole jurisdiction.[120]

Reddan, however, does not make the connection between the two Symons which Clay does, and she concludes that although there had been an anchorite's cell near Aldgate in the thirteenth century, by the time Symon was professed in 1513 the cell may well have disappeared, with the result that 'it is … more likely that Appulby lived in the monastery'.[121] Clay expands on the connection, noting that both the priory and All Hallows were 'appropriated to the same Augustinian monastery', meaning that appointments to the anchorhold at All Hallows would have to be approved by the prior of Holy Trinity, ie the Bishop of London.[122] Clay also demonstrates from examination of the churchwardens' accounts that the name of Appulby was not unknown amongst the community

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[119] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 587.

[120] Rotha Mary Clay, 'Further Studies on Medieval Recluses', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series vol XVI (1953), 74-86, at p. 82. The text of Symon's profession document, as cited by Clay, is given as Appendix A below. 'Richard, bishop of London', is of course Richard Fitzjames, who gave episcopal approval of *The Fruyte* the year after Symon's profession.

[121] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 587.

[122] Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 82.

of All Hallows at the time,[123] thus giving a little more context to Symon and showing a considerable degree of interaction between the anchorite and the people of the parish, for whom it may be presumed that he wrote, at least in the first instance. Not unsurprisingly, though, records of Symon's life before taking up the role of anchorite at All Hallows are virtually non-existent, although Erler, in an article in 1998 which is still - despite her more recent work - essentially the only significant treatment of *The Fruyte* and its author, does tentatively take the record a little further back, as discussed below.[124]

While it is apparent that during the twentieth century neither Symon nor his text were completely ignored, it is also clear that references in general surveys such as those by Reddan, by Francis Darwin in 1944,[125] in Clay's main work, and in longer articles such as Clay's follow-up piece and Erler's initial article, as well as the treatment by Roger Ellis which has been mentioned in section 1.2 and which will be discussed further below, do not indicate an overwhelming level of scholarly interest in this material. Even the entry for Symon in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography does little more than condense and combine information gleaned from Erler's earlier article with some details from

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[123] Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 84.

[124] Mary C Erler, 'A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby: His *Fruyte of Redempcyon* and its Milieu', *Viator* 29 (1998), 227-39. Parts of this article are reused in her more recent work, for which see n. 45 on p. 47 above. On her suggestion regarding Symon's life before his profession to All Hallows, see pp. 85-86 below.

[125] Francis DS Darwin, *The English Mediaeval Recluse*, London: SPCK (1944), at pp. 21-22, 39, 85.

Welch's Introduction.[126]

The Fruyte is listed in RE Lewis, NF Blake, and ASG Edwards' *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, published in 1985, and reference is made there to all five editions (in contrast with some more recent work). However, the date of the text is given as 's. xv ex.', ie the end of the fifteenth century, presumably since the editors viewed it as one of the texts included which, as described in the Introduction, 'belong to the early sixteenth century, primarily those whose authors are known to have begun writing in the fifteenth century and for which we have been unable to establish a precise compositional date'.[127] No other scholar whose work has been encountered in the course of this research has suggested that Symon Appulby's writing career began in the fifteenth century, so the assessment here of the dating of the composition of *The Fruyte* (rather than its printing) is puzzling. Lewis, Blake, and Edwards also manage to misquote the opening line of the text, which since the *Index* lists entries alphabetically by first line (excluding title pages and tables of content), is unfortunate. Despite the first line of chapter 1 in all editions clearly starting 'Lorde my god …', entry 439 in the *Index* gives this as:

> Lowe my god I desire to laude the for I knowe myselfe to be made to laude þe Open my mouth in thy laude þat I may synge

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[126] JPD Cooper, 'Appulby, Simon (d. 1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition: Oxford University Press (2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25573, accessed 30 April 2014]

[127] RE Lewis, NF Blake, & ASG Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, New York & London: Garland Publishing (1985), p. xxvi.

> Ioye to thi name[128]

It is also the case that in some twenty-first-century scholarship, *The Fruyte* is apparently so little known that facts which have been corrected or updated by the work of those such as Clay or Erler may be presented or repeated in their original form, because the reference is seemingly obscure. For instance, C Annette Grisé, contributing to the proceedings of a conference held in 2005 but not published until 2010, lists only four editions of the text (with a slight mistake in the *STC* catalogue numbers), and mentions the attribution of *The Fruyte* to Richard Whitford, which had been made in the past, without confirming that this is now known to be erroneous:

> Whitford's popularity and productivity have led scholars and readers to attribute other printed books to him. Two important examples are *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* and *The Pomander of Prayer*. *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* states that it is written by Simon [Appulby], the Anchorite of London, but it has been attributed to Whitford likely because of its similarity to other Syon books: it is a conventional set of meditations on Christ's life and death printed four times (1514, 1517, 1530, 1531: STC 22557-60).[129]

A little more recently, Alexandra da Costa has at least recognised that Whitford

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[128] Lewis, Blake, & Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, p. 154; omission of punctuation is original. This transcription also differs from all five editions at the end of the passage quoted; while *STC* 22559 and *STC* 22559.5 each have 'ioy', none of the editions has 'thi'.

[129] C Annette Grisé, '"Moche profitable unto religious persones, gathered by a brother of Syon": Syon Abbey and English Books', in EA Jones and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c1400-1700*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press (2010), pp. 129-54, at p. 139 (square brackets original).

did not write *The Fruyte*, although she describes the actual author only as 'Simon, a London anchorite', and by citing only the first edition of the text (*STC* 22557) appears to suggest that this was the only edition.[130] In fact, with the exception of Clay's later article, it is only in the last three decades or so that there has been any concentrated focus on the text, and even then this has been undertaken by a handful of scholars, and primarily in the context of considerations of other texts, authors (most notably Bridget of Sweden), or situations.

This relatively recent work on Symon and *The Fruyte* is for the most part connected with the resurgence of interest in anchorites in general since the latter decades of the twentieth century, building on Ann Warren's 1985 examination of anchorites and their patrons, which clearly aims to rehabilitate the study of those medieval individuals who chose the solitary life. Warren states that her intention is to overturn the 'antiquarian perceptions of the anchoritic vocation'[131] which she maintains has been fostered by earlier work, although her stated method of addressing this means that she

> deals with anchorites not as intriguing individuals but as anonymous members of a group. Those about whom more is known become for the purposes of this study almost distractions. The focus here is on the unknown anchorite as

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[130] Alexandra da Costa, *Reforming Printing: Syon Abbey's defence of orthodoxy 1525-1534*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012), p. 12.

[131] Ann K Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press (1985), p. 1.

> representative, so I value the more famous figures only to the degree that their lives tell us something useful about the group.[132]

Symon clearly counts as one of 'the more famous figures', since while Warren refers to him by name in the company of other eremitic writers (although *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* itself is not mentioned), she does not discuss him or his work at all.[133] Yet influential though Warren's work has undoubtedly been in renewing the focus on anchoritism within the study of medieval religious practice,[134] she is not without her critics. Amongst many others, scholars such as Liz Herbert McAvoy, Mari Hughes-Edwards, and Michelle Sauer have more recently followed Warren's lead in finding fruitful ground in the study of anchorites, although work in this area is increasingly moving beyond the somewhat narrow bounds set by Warren.[135]

In the Foreword to the 2005 collection of essays *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs*, Anneke Mulder-Bakker outlines the basic difficulties around which those focusing on anchoritism have had to work:

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[132] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 3.

[133] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 24.

[134] See, for example, Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: the Other Monasticism*, London & New York: Leicester University Press (1995), which while viewing the subject from an archaeological perspective, looks at other ways of being 'monastic' in this period. At times she follows Warren quite closely in her approach to hermits and anchorites, while also drawing on Clay's work.

[135] The Introduction to Liz Herbert McAvoy's most recent full-length study of this area gives a brief survey of anchoritic scholarship: see Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life*, Woodbridge: DS Brewer (2011), pp. 3-4. Someone not mentioned by McAvoy in this survey is EA Jones, whose revision of Clay's *Hermits and Anchorites of England*, including the development of a digital version, is ongoing; see http://hermits.ex.ac.uk/index/project (accessed 30 April 2014).

> The research into hermits and anchorites has long been dominated by theologians and church historians. Working from the premises of their own particular discipline, these scholars interpret the source material on anchoritism accordingly, that is from a modern confessional and from a modern dogmatic stance.[136]

The editors of this volume, Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards, similarly note in their Introduction that

> [t]he large majority of historical surveys of the medieval religious experience written in English have traditionally ignored the figure of the anchorite, or else have only mentioned the phenomenon in passing. Even when the anchoritic life has been focused on, however briefly, it has often served to mislead the reader.[137]

In the rest of the Introduction McAvoy and Hughes-Edwards present a case for widening the focus of anchoritic study beyond that which Warren presented, describing her work as 'fundamental to most areas of anchoritic study today' but 'nevertheless self-confessedly limited in scope'.[138]

As with other recent work on anchorites and anchoritic writings, this volume looks at key themes such as gender and space, themes which are further developed in a subsequent book of papers published three years later, and also

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[136] Anneke B Mulder-Bakker, 'Foreword', in Liz Herbert McAvoy & Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press (2005), pp. 1-5, at p. 1.

[137] Liz Herbert McAvoy & Mari Hughes-Edwards, 'Introduction: Intersections of Time and Space in Gender and Enclosure', in McAvoy & Hughes-Edwards, *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs*, pp. 6-26, at p. 23 n. 2.

[138] McAvoy & Hughes-Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 7.

edited by McAvoy, *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold.*[139] Here, the essays also consider how anchorites - especially but not exclusively urban recluses - related to the communities which surrounded them and in many cases provided a further level of enclosure to that already imparted by the walls of their cells. When dealing with anchoritic texts, the papers in this second volume seem to start to move beyond the initial discussions of works produced *for* anchorites (such as the *Ancrene Wisse*) and begin to consider texts *by* anchorites which are not themselves intended for an anchoritic - or even a professional religious - readership. Later chapters in this present thesis will address this in relation to Symon Appulby and to *The Fruyte*, examining how the text is constructed for a lay English-literate readership (one particular community), and considering Symon's relationship as an anchorite to London and to the parish of All Hallows (other types of communities).

Within this widening context of the consideration which has so far been given to *The Fruyte*, Erler's work is that to which this thesis is most indebted. In her initial article of 1998, and repeating and expanding this in the first chapter of a book published in 2013, Erler builds on Clay's later article, as well as on unpublished research by JT Rhodes subsequent to her doctoral thesis. Erler therefore not only places Symon in a more specific context than is addressed by Clay, but also examines *The Fruyte* as a text in its own right, rather than as just

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[139] Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press (2008).

another piece of anchoritic writing about which little is known.[140] However, as this study shows, Erler still leaves room for further work on *The Fruyte*, not least because she touches only lightly on the way in which Symon used his sources to construct the text, and omits entirely any consideration of the woodcuts (the reader of both Erler's article and her more recent chapter, if either were taken in isolation, would be unaware that *The Fruyte* has any illustrations at all). In 'A London Anchorite' Erler states that 'Appulby's work has been called part of an early sixteenth century efflorescence of spiritual writing for a vernacular audience',[141] although she does not offer any evidence for this claim. Her chapter on Symon and *The Fruyte* in *Reading and Writing* does not repeat this statement, yet conversely does offer more by way of demonstrating it, but although she gets closer than anyone else to a recognition of the significance of the text, the contention of this thesis is that she does not get close enough.

In relation to details about Symon, Erler refers to records which may suggest something of his life before his enclosure at All Hallows, although given the timescale involved her hesitancy to state with certainty the connection between this reference and the All Hallows anchorite is understandable:

> A trace of what may be Appulby's earlier history exists. In 1483 the abbot of St Albans, William Wallingford, promised the next vacancy of the parish anchorhold at St Michael's church, St

[140] Although Clay does at least acknowledge that '*The Fruyte of Redempcyon* cannot be described in a short article'; Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 83.

[141] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 231.

> Albans, to a priest named Simon Appulby … Whether this man is to be identified with the London anchorite is … unclear, though the dates can accommodate a single life. If in 1483 Simon Appulby were twenty-six, the lowest age for ordination, he would have been eighty in 1537, the year in which he died.[142]

Erler's assertion that Symon died in 1537 is based on the date of his will, which she quotes and discusses.[143] This is the only evidence available for the end of Symon's life, as the churchwardens' accounts end in 1536 without any mention of similar funerary arrangements being made for him as for William Lucas and the other anchorite (Robert Lynton) who died in 1486-87. Indeed, Welch notes that the last reference to Symon in the accounts is in 1528-29;[144] this and other mentions in the accounts of him and his predecessors in the anchorhold will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3 below.

The will is dated 6 June 1537, and in it Symon made arrangements for his funeral and for the disposition of his possessions and money following his death. Reddan and Clay both note that in 1532 a request was made by an alderman of the City of London to be allowed to choose the inhabitant of the anchorhold at All Hallows when it next became vacant, although there is no

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[142] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 227 n. 1, and also Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 24-25, where she more definitely locates Symon in London before 1513.

[143] Erler, 'A London Anchorite' pp. 236-37 (see particularly p. 236 n. 46), and p. 239. She also gives the text of the will in modernised English in her recent book: see Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 148-49. In both cases, she acknowledges Colin A McLaren's unpublished MPhil thesis, 'An Edition of Foxford, a Vicars'-General Book of the Diocese of London 1521-1539, fols 161-268', University of London (1973). The text of the will in its original spelling is given as Appendix B below.

[144] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. xxxii-iii, also pp. 56-57.

suggestion that the vacancy had already occurred at the time of the request.[145] The date of this request is not insignificant, since Erler expands on work by Clay to show that it was made on the same day as the dissolution of the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate, 24 February 1532.[146] It is also significant that both this request and Symon's will presumed that there would be another anchorite at All Hallows after him, although Symon did make provision should this turn out not to be the case:

> Moreover my very mynde and will is that all suche bookes and vestimentes as now be within the chapell of the said ankerage shall there perpetually remayne to thuse of the anker which after my deceasse shall supply the same romme so that the same romme of an ancre there be supplied within one yere and a day next after my decesse; otherwise and without that so be, I will that all the same bookes and vestimentes shalbe putt to suche use as shall seme good to myn executor.[147]

However, Reddan and Clay also note that the beginning of the process of suppression of priories and related holdings meant that this right of presentation might not have been acted upon, since in 1538 the anchorhold was given to the City of London sword-bearer, instead of to John Champneys, the alderman who had made the request six years earlier,[148] and who had served a

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[145] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 588; Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 84. Reddan does not name the alderman, while Clay names him as Roger Champneys, which Erler corrects in 'A London Anchorite' to John Champneys (pp. 235-36, particularly n. 42), noting further in *Reading and Writing* that 'there is no London alderman' of the time named Roger Champneys (p. 33 n. 73). Warren, although citing Clay's work, further confuses matters by referring to 'Robert' Champneys: *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 222.

[146] Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 84; Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 235.

[147] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 239.

[148] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 588; Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 84.

year as mayor in the intervening period.[149] What is clear, though, is that there was a sense of expectation of continuity, albeit within the context of societal changes which had already taken place in the 1530s. The desire of the civic authorities to take over the right of presentation to the anchorhold from the religious authorities on the dissolution of the priory suggests that they wanted to maintain the tradition, and valued the presence of an anchorite at All Hallows. In bequeathing his possessions as he did, Symon similarly assumed that there would be someone occupying the anchorhold after him, even if not necessarily immediately, suggesting that in his mind at least the break-up of the monastic way of life would not automatically lead to the end of the anchoritic way of life. A further indication of the acceptance of change may be that Symon names a layman as his executor, rather than a fellow cleric: John Davell, 'citizein and wax chaundeler of London'.[150]

As the title of Erler's original article suggests, her focus is on the placing of both Symon and his text, and as noted above she provides some previously unknown biographical details as well as setting these details in historical and political context. This context highlights the way in which the text was received, and begins to move the examination of *The Fruyte* from a focus on the writer to the effect on the reader, a topic which will be discussed in this thesis in

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[149] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 33.

[150] Erler also notes that Davell subsequently left a bequest in his own will to John Champneys, 'suggesting that the anchorite, his executor, and the alderman were connected by ties of friendship'; *Reading and Writing*, p. 33.

more detail elsewhere. Erler notes that '[i]n [a] theologically various period, Appulby and his composition stand firmly on the side of orthodoxy',[151] and cites three different individuals who had read, owned, or been aware of *The Fruyte*. While not necessarily reflecting the considerable lay readership which the text must have enjoyed, the recommendation of it in 1526 by William Bonde, a monk of Syon Abbey, the collection of it with other tracts at around the same time by Margaret Necollson, who seems to have been a nun living outside London, and the reference to its author (if not to the text itself) in the 1517 will of a fellow London priest, Sir John Graunt,[152] all suggest that this little text, which was written by someone whom Clay initially regarded as 'a simple student of the Scriptures'[153] exerted some not inconsiderable influence at a time when spiritual writing in the vernacular was an expanding (if not always stable) market.

Erler's other major contribution to the study of *The Fruyte*, though, is her discussion of its source material. She acknowledges that the discovery of its main source, a handbook of Latin prayers entitled the *Antidotarius Animae*, first published in Strasbourg in 1489 and itself a shorter version of an earlier text entitled *Meditationes de vita et beneficiis Jesu Christi, siue gratiarum actiones*, is not hers,[154] but her examination is certainly more than had been attempted in print

[151] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 228.

[152] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', pp. 231-32.

[153] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 182; see pp. 68-69 above.

[154] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', pp. 229-30, particularly n. 12, crediting JT Rhodes.

before (or, for that matter, since, until this thesis). A decade and a half before the publication of Erler's first article, Roger Ellis had looked at *The Fruyte* as one of a number of texts from around the fifteenth century which incorporated or otherwise adapted excerpts from Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*, but while Erler touches on the integration of Bridgettine material into the *Antidotarius*, Ellis either ignores or (which is more likely) is unaware of the primary source material, focussing rather on what is now recognised as the secondary source for the English text. He therefore suggests that far from being a translation of an existing work, which Symon himself indicates in the colophon to *The Fruyte*, this treatment of elements of Bridget's *Revelations* 'makes its narrative material the starting point for a series of fervent prayers, each developing from a specific incident in the life of Christ'.[155] Both of these approaches, as well as other aspects of the source materials, will be considered further in chapter 2 of this thesis.

This survey of awareness of and work on Symon Appulby and *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* has so far dealt primarily with twentieth-century publications. However, as mentioned in section 1.1 above, there is a note in the British Library's copy of the 1532 edition of the text which provides some evidence of knowledge of *The Fruyte* in the centuries between its original publication and the literature discussed above. The note, which is undated and unsigned, is

[155] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 179. This is despite the fact that Symon's assertion that he has 'compyled this mater in englysshe for [those] … that vnderstande no latyn' (*The Fruyte* sig [E4], lines 9-10) would suggest a translation rather than original work.

hand-written in ink on a separate sheet of writing paper and is attached to the first few pages of the Library binding of the book. As mentioned, the British Museum date stamp on the back cover of the text is unclear but appears to read '13 JA 1809', so it may be presumed that the note is contemporary or near-contemporary with the acquisition of this copy.[156] The note reads as follows:

> This copy of the Prayers and Meditations known under the title of "The Fruyte of Redempcyon" is of the Third impression of the work produced for Wynkyn de Worde; the others having appeared in 1514 & 1517. It is also evidently the copy described by Herbert in 1785, being then in the possession of Mr Haworth, & the only one which he had seen.
>
> The book was written by one of the Cistercian monks who were sent by the Abbot & Convent of Gerondon, in Leicestershire, to reside at the Chapel of St James, on London Wall (Lambe's Chapel, Monkwell Street),[157] to pray for the spiritual repose of Aymer De Valence, and Mary his wife. This Chapel appears to have been attached to a small residence known as the Hermitage, or Anker-hold, in which a single recluse had once lived: but two brethren were afterwards sent from Gerondon, & by one of these, named Simon, these religious pieces were compiled.
>
> They were written evidently before the year 1514, & probably much earlier; for Richard FitzJames, Bishop of London, who had added a very sensible recommendation of the book at the end, was translated to the See in 1506.

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[156] Rhodes mentions this note very briefly in her doctoral thesis, describing it as 'XIXth century?' but 'of doubtful authority'; see Rhodes, 'Private Devotion in England', vol II, p. 203 n. 217.

[157] A church which, unlike All Hallows London Wall, is no longer standing, not least because Monkwell Street appears to have been subsumed into the Barbican Centre complex.

> The author calls himself "the Anker (Anchorite) of London Wall, wretched Symon" but he is commemorated in the Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica under the more republe [sic] name of "Simeon Anchorita Londiniensis". The language of the work is very similar to that of the well-known meditations called The Fifteen Joys and Fifteen Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, - when they are found in English; and it is not unlikely that they were the Author's model.[158]

The most immediately notable point is that while both Clay's survey of anchorites and Welch's introduction to the All Hallows accounts refer to three of the five known editions of *The Fruyte*, they are not the same three editions as those referred to here. As discussed earlier, Welch and Clay appear not to be aware of the existence (or survival) of the edition of 1517, whereas a century earlier the author of this note did know of that edition but apparently was not aware of the edition of 1530. This knowledge may be based on the 'Herbert' referred to, meaning the three-volume work entitled *Typographical antiquities* by Joseph Ames and William Herbert, listing all the books printed in Britain between 1471 and 1600, volume one of which was published in 1785 and which could be said to have been the precursor of the *Short-Title Catalogue*. This lists the editions published by de Worde in 1514, 1517, and 1532, as well as the single edition by Robert Redman in 1531.[159] The *Bibliotecha Britannico-Hibernica* by

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[158] Underlining and use of ampersands is original.

[159] Ames, *Typographical antiquities*; see n. 15 on p. 27 above. Interestingly, it is only the Redman edition (*STC* 22559.5) which appears to have been personally owned by either Ames or Herbert - in this case Herbert.

Thomas Tanner, which was published in 1748 and which is also cited in the note, mentions only the first edition of *The Fruyte* in the entry for Symon, although the second edition (that of 1517) is listed in the entry on Bishop Richard FitzJames, referring to his 'oversight' of its production.[160]

Much of the rest of the information in the note has, however, since been proved to be incorrect, not least the location of Symon's anchorhold. Although Clay's earlier work mentions the hermitage of St James in Monkwell Street, neither she nor Reddan cite any specific eremitical activity there between 1341, when possession of the chapel passed from the Crown to the Abbey of Gerondon in Leicestershire, and the Dissolution of that Abbey in 1536, at which point possession reverted to the Crown.[161] It is not clear which text is meant by 'The Fifteen Joys and Fifteen Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin', but given Erler's much more recent and positive identification of the source material, this is now also somewhat irrelevant although it does remain intriguing. Inaccuracies aside, though, this note serves to show that the existence of *The Fruyte* continued to be

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[160] Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: sive, de scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis commentarius: auctore Viro admodum reverendo, et in patriis antiquitatibus versatissimo, Thoma Tannero, Episcopo Asaphensi. Qui non tantum Scriptores quam plurimos, a Lelando, Baleo, Pitseo, et aliis praetermissos, e codicibus Mss. nunc primum in lucem protulit; sed Notis etiam uberioribus, tum omissa supplevit, tum parum fideliter tradita correxit et illustravit. Opus utilissimum, et XL annorum studio ac industria elaboratum. Praefixa Est Reverendi et doctissimi viri Davidis Wilkinsii S.T.P. et Canonici Cantuar. Praefatio, Historiam Literariam Britannorum ante Caesaris adventum, Bibliothecae hujus schema, Bostonum Buriensem, aliaque scitu non indigna complectens*, London (1748). Accessed via Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 30 April 2014: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=kings&tabID=T001&docId=CW124861524&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE. Symon's entry appears on p. 673, and that for Richard FitzJames on p. 283.

[161] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 67; Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 586.

known long after its immediate popularity had faded, despite the exact details of its content and context being obscured for a time.

Recognising this unclarity, this chapter has provided an introduction to *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* and Symon Appulby, to give a base from which study of the text and its author can be developed in subsequent chapters of this thesis. The mere fact that five separate editions of the text were produced is an indication of its contemporary popularity, and the care taken in the printing of the third edition, that of 1530 (*STC* 22559), suggests that de Worde, at least, viewed the text of worthy of particular attention. Chapter 3 of this thesis will explore in more depth the use and placement of the woodcuts in the text, but the overview here has already shown that this was a vital element in the overall construction and presentation of the book as it was printed. Yet important as the woodcuts are, they nonetheless play a secondary role in comparison with the text itself. Despite Erler's assessment of the way in which *The Fruyte* (particularly the edition of 1530) was used as a weapon in the skirmishes before the battle of the Reformation was truly joined,[162] there has not yet been a clear examination of why the content of this book in particular was considered to be suited to this role. Chapter 2 of this thesis therefore offers a detailed analysis of the use of the two main Latin sources in the construction of the English text, as well as an examination of the most striking original element of the book, a focus

[162] See Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 29-32.

on Christ's Seven Last Words from the Cross, an aspect of the text which has not been remarked upon before by anyone previously, as far as can be ascertained.

Chapter 2: 'hath compyled this mater in englysshe'[1]

Sources, Translation, and Original Composition

The outline and overview of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* given in chapter 1 has shown that the text printed by Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman and credited to Symon Appulby is not an entirely original composition. Symon himself acknowledges this in the colophon to the text, in the phrase used as the heading to this chapter, but indications that the text is a compilation of sources are evident in the body of the book, due to the marginal notes indicating the presence of material from Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*. However, since these references to Bridgettine material occur only in certain chapters, and no other source is similarly credited, the impression may be given that the rest of *The Fruyte* (which comprises the majority of the work) may be original. This is indeed an approach which has been taken in the past, as will be discussed in the first section of this chapter, together with other work on the sources and composition of *The Fruyte*. However, as other scholars have demonstrated, Symon's statement that he has rendered 'this mater' into English for the benefit of those not literate in Latin actually refers to both of his sources, the *Antidotarius Animae* as well as the *Revelations*. Building on the previous scholarship in this area, section 2.2 of this chapter looks in detail at how Symon selected, translated, adapted, and discarded passages from the *Antidotarius* to

[1] *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* (*STC* 22559) sig. [E4], lines 8-9 (colophon).

construct his English text, and section 2.3 similarly considers his use of the Bridgettine material. Yet the aspect of *The Fruyte* which makes it more than merely a translation from Latin to the vernacular is the presence of Symon's original writing within and alongside his adaptations of the source material. This is most obvious in a sequence of seven chapters at the heart of the Passion narrative, each focussing on one of Christ's Seven Last Words from the Cross, which is examined in the last section of this chapter. Recognition of this sequence appears not to have been made in previous work on *The Fruyte*, thus adding to the sense that there is much about this text which has been overlooked, and much which may still be to be discovered.

2.1 Existing scholarship on the sources of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*

Of the previous work on Symon Appulby and *The Fruyte* discussed in the last section of chapter 1, that by only three people has focussed to any extent on the sources and composition of the text. Even within this extremely small pool of scholars, though, Rotha Mary Clay's later article pays more attention to Symon himself than to his text, although this is not to say that her observations are not useful. She goes some way to explaining the earlier, mistaken, attribution of *The Fruyte* to Richard Whitford,[2] which was made despite Symon's declaration of authorship in the colophon to the text, stating that

> [t]his may derive in part from the author using the phrase 'wretched Symon', whilst Whytford is self-styled in his *Martiloge* 'the wretch of Syon' (ie Syon Abbey). This was a pious formula. Moreover, a common cult of St Birgitta (ie 'Bridget' of Sweden) may have proved misleading. For though Simon's work is mainly on scriptural lines, he does interpolate into Christ's Passion that mystic's visions, and gives marginal references to the Latin *Revelationes*; whilst Whytford - albeit many years later - translates the same book of devotion.[3]

Clay then notes that 'Simon's subjects are gratitude to the Saviour and devotion to His Mother', and observes that '[h]e has a high sense of worship' and that '[t]he thought is homely … when leading readers in thanksgiving',[4] but goes no further in analysing the sources from which Symon was translating, or the ways

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[2] This attribution can still be seen in the British Library's online integrated catalogue records for the copies of *The Fruyte* held by the Library.

[3] Rotha Mary Clay, 'Further Studies on Medieval Recluses', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series vol XVI (1953), 74-86, at p. 83.

[4] Clay, 'Further Studies', p. 83.

in which he brought those sources together.

The next person to consider the origins of *The Fruyte* was Roger Ellis, almost thirty years after Clay's observations. However, the focal point of his investigation is not *The Fruyte* itself but rather Bridget's *Revelations*, as he considers how this important text was treated in England and in English in the fifteenth century. *The Fruyte* is therefore one of a number of examples within his examination, rather than a single study. Before considering how texts such as *The Fruyte* reworked Bridgettine material, Ellis first discusses the process by which the Latin version of the *Revelations* came to be circulated in England, and for the purposes of the present discussion the most significant observation which he makes here is that there was 'a prevalence in England of a distinctive tradition of the Latin text', which could be identified as being linked to or descended from the original Latin translation from Swedish by Alphonse of Pecha, and that this tradition was followed 'by the two ME translations of the whole text in BL, MSS Claudius B i and Julius F ii.'[5] It will, though, be demonstrated in section 2.3 of this thesis that Symon was unlikely to have been using either of these existing English translations in preparing *The Fruyte*, but instead working with the Latin version of the *Revelations*, and selecting material very carefully according to his particular purpose.

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[5] Roger Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam ... Coronam": An Investigation into the uses of the Revelations of St Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Aevum* 51 (1982), 163-86, at pp 163-66, quotations from p. 166. Ellis' edition of BL MS Claudius B i was published in 1987, only a few years after the publication of the article under discussion here, while BL MS Julius F ii has not been edited or published.

In section V of his article, in discussing texts such as *The Fruyte* which made particular use of Bridget's revelations of the lives of Christ and his mother, Ellis notes that

> [w]hen the compilation presented its *Revelations* material in company with material from other traditions, the scribe seems generally to have followed a different practice and presented the former in parallel with the latter. Texts most commonly supplemented in this way by *Revelations* material include the Gospels, the apocryphal gospels, the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes*, and other Gospel meditations like those by St Bernard, pseudo-Bernard and pseudo-Bede.[6]

The Fruyte clearly falls into this category, following the pattern which Ellis describes a little further on:

> none of these compilations … aims to present a simple narrative; consequently, the *Revelations* material which they use can never represent the expression of a purely narrative impulse. Rather, they aim to create works of meditation; consequently, the narrative they offer will be so arranged as to provide the devout soul with spaces for meditation and prayer.[7]

Ellis' conclusion is therefore that 'Simon's work … makes its narrative material the starting point for a series of fervent prayers, each developing from a specific incident in the life of Christ',[8] thus presenting Symon as more of an original author than as a compiler or translator. Yet even without knowing that a

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[6] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 177.

[7] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 178.

[8] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"' p. 179.

further text was the primary basis for *The Fruyte*, which was then supplemented by extracts from the *Revelations*, as noted earlier in this thesis it should be clear from a reading of *The Fruyte* that the Bridgettine passages are too sporadically and specifically placed within the structure of the text to be considered as the primary impetus for the rest of the work.

As noted in section 1.2 above, the marginal notes in *The Fruyte* which indicate the presence of the Bridgettine material predominantly refer to Book I of the *Revelations*, with a couple of references to Book VI as well as some to the non-existent Book X.[9] Ellis does not comment on the references to 'Book X', but confirms that Symon, 'though basing himself almost entirely on I, x', also used passages from other sections of the *Revelations*.[10] Ellis here identifies a single phrase from Book IV chapter 70, which he indicates as appearing in chapter 16 of *The Fruyte* (although it is not identified in the marginal notes as being drawn from a different location from that of the surrounding text), but does not mention the use of a slightly larger section of Book VI chapter 1 in *The Fruyte* chapter 4, where the marginal note does cite the correct reference.[11] This example, which Ellis uses to show that Symon predominantly uses material from one particular chapter but occasionally draws on details from other chapters of his source text, also highlights a further area where, in the light of

[9] See pp. 37-38 above.

[10] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 179.

[11] *The Fruyte* sig. B3, marginal note to lines 13-14.

subsequent research, Ellis' conclusions have been overtaken. As will also be seen in the detailed examination of this material in section 2.3 below, Symon's use of the *Revelations* in *The Fruyte* shows considerably more skill and subtlety than Ellis' original assessment credits him with.

Mary Erler's 1998 article, in which she builds on unpublished research by JT Rhodes, is thus the only substantive discussion to date of the main source material for *The Fruyte*.[12] As referred to in the general overview of work on *The Fruyte* in section 1.4 above, Erler outlines the relationship between the *Antidotarius Animae*, first published in Strasbourg in 1489, and *The Fruyte*. However, her examination of the process of translating the Latin source into English is brief, and is mostly restricted to observations on the editing done by Symon in producing *The Fruyte:*

> He used this text as a framework, reproducing its Latin chapter titles as his own English ones, and frequently translating each chapter verbatim (for instance his chapters 1, 8, and 9). Simon made the *Antidotarius*' forty chapters into thirty-one by dint of rearrangement of material and some not very substantial omission.[13]

Having identified the source for the majority of the text of *The Fruyte*, Erler then

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[12] Mary C Erler, 'A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby: His *Fruyte of Redempcyon* and its Milieu', *Viator* 29 (1998), 227-39; see also Mary C Erler, *Reading and Writing During the Dissolution: Monks, Friars, and Nuns 1530-1558*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2013), chapter 1, which reuses much of the material from the earlier article, as well as adding some new information and observations.

[13] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 27. Although Erler mentions the *Antidotarius* having 40 chapters, the editions of the text which have been examined for this research (including the copy held in the British Library which Erler also consulted, that printed in Antwerp on 27 May 1490, BL class mark IA49823) all have 42 (unnumbered) chapters.

notes both the inclusion of Bridgettine material at certain points and that this is heavily outweighed by the edited translation of the *Antidotarius* as well as by material which, she says, 'seems to be original to Appulby'.[14] It is also not clear whether or not Erler was aware of Ellis' earlier article on the Bridgettine material (she does not refer to it, which would suggest not), but she certainly does not look in any great detail at this aspect of *The Fruyte*, merely listing the chapters in which the *Revelations* material is used, and observing that this material is 'heavily Marian'.[15] However, in neither her original article nor in her more recent book (which reuses some of the content of that article) does Erler engage in any analysis of the construction of Symon's compound text, beyond noting that apart from the Bridgettine interpolations it is 'in the main a faithful English translation of the short version of the *Meditationes* found in the *Antidotarius*'.[16] As will be demonstrated in section 2.2 below, this is an accurate assessment, but a limited one.

In terms of an overall perspective, Erler calculates that the Bridgettine material comprises less than a quarter of the total length of *The Fruyte*, and states that Symon's own composition makes up another quarter, thus suggesting that half of the text therefore derives from the *Antidotarius*.[17] A very basic analysis by

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[14] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

[15] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

[16] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 27, which slightly revises the wording of 'A London Anchorite', p. 230.

[17] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

means of word count (based on the work described in the next two sections to determine the exact source of each chapter of *The Fruyte*) indicates that Erler's calculations are correct: if the list of chapters at the start and the colophon and episcopal endorsement at the end are excluded, about 13.5% of *The Fruyte* is directly translated from the *Revelations*, while 50% is directly translated from the *Antidotarius*. Of the remaining material, 22.5% is completely original, while 14% is material which is adapted from the *Antidotarius*, rather than being directly translated. The ways in which Symon therefore used his sources and created a coherent whole from the constituent parts will be examined and considered in other sections of this chapter.

Before analysing how the Latin sources are translated into English in *The Fruyte*, though, it is worth considering the area of medieval translation more generally, to be able to put this specific example into context. The question of approaches to translation in the Middle Ages is not always a straightforward one, which may be appropriate in this case since the approach taken by Symon in *The Fruyte* was similarly not always straightforward. What may be regarded as the authoritative contemporary viewpoints on the ways in which the words and meaning of a text could, or should, be rendered from one language to another varied and changed during the medieval period, as has the modern critical and scholarly view on this topic. Rita Copeland's overview of the development of translation, for instance, concentrates more on what it is not:

> A theoretical history of translation in the Western Middle Ages cannot be written as if translation represents a semi-autonomous development of stylistics. Considered in this way, medieval vernacular translation is little more than a collection of disparate practices, united by a few inherited commonplaces which centre on the distinction between word for word and sense for sense, and useful for diachronic source study, stylistic analysis, or the study of particular literary or historical relationships. But the earliest theories of translation which the Latin West received from Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian did not emerge as critically transparent and historically portable reflections on practice. These theories of translation were formulated at Rome within a certain academic environment and in response to a certain disciplinary agenda. They emerged as a by-product of a conflict between the claims of rhetoric and grammar.[18]

Furthermore, even the terms for the process themselves have fluctuated in meaning at different points in time. As Douglas Kelly observes,

> *Translatio* is a term ranging in meaning from translation through adaptation to metaphorical transfer and allegory. Yet all these terms presume some restatement, from Horace's rejected word-for-word translation through rewriting to rehearse the same matter with new words and meaning to, finally, metaphorical transfer itself as allegory.[19]

This suggests that at different times different approaches to translation, ranging

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[18] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic traditions and vernacular texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1991), p. 1.

[19] Douglas Kelly, 'The *fides interpres*: Aid or Impediment to Medieval Translation and *Translatio*?', in Jeanette Beer (ed), *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications (1997), pp. 47-58, at p. 55.

from the literal to the more interpretative, have been considered to be equally valid in producing a text which is regarded as legitimate in relation to its parent. It should be noted, though, that Kelly's particular discussion tends to deal predominantly with fiction (or more properly with created stories, whether in poetry or in prose), and that this aspect of translation presents considerations which are not relevant in other areas.[20]

The situation was therefore not necessarily the same for devotional works, especially in regard to translating the Bible itself. As Karen Pratt writes,

> [i]n early medieval translation theory, fidelity to a source was equated with literal translation. … Literality was especially important when translating the Bible, for the word of God was authoritative and needed to be preserved as completely as possible. Even Jerome, who generally argues that the translator should avoid word-for-word rendering and concentrate instead on conveying the sense of the model … , concedes that he translated Holy Scripture literally because the order of the words was an integral part of the mystery.[21]

It can be presumed, though, that even this careful approach to translation, which had the aim of making sure as much as was possible that none of the divine intent was lost in the process, was aimed primarily at producing works

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[20] See, for example, Leslie C Brook's discussion of the different requirements involved on the parts of both translator and reader when translating prose as opposed to poetry, with particular reference to Jean de Meun's translation into French of Abelard and Heloïse's letters; Leslie C Brook, 'The Translator and his Reader: Jean de Meun and the Abelard-Heloise Correspondence', in Roger Ellis (ed), *The Medieval Translator II*, London: Centre for Medieval Studies QMWUL (1991), pp. 99-122, at p. 102.

[21] Karen Pratt, 'Medieval Attitudes to Translation and Adaptation: the Rhetorical Theory and the Poetic Practice', in Ellis (ed), *The Medieval Translator II*, pp. 1-27, at pp. 2-3.

which would be read only by those deemed appropriate to have the privilege of doing so, which was often (although not always) predominantly the clergy. As Nicholas Watson outlines in his detailed article on the intention and effect of Arundel's Constitutions at the start of the fifteenth century, there was a strong argument throughout that century and into the next against translating the Bible into English, a process which would greatly increase the availability of such material to the laity.[22]

Yet at the same time it was recognised that the laity needed to be instructed in their faith, and as lay literacy in both Latin and the vernacular increased, the demand for and popularity of written works of instruction similarly grew. Alexandra Barratt notes that this need for instruction was a direct result of the directive of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 that all Christians 'over the age of discretion', both men and women, should make confession once a year to their parish priest; and logically, in order to be able to confess a sin, the nature of sin and the concomitant need to repent of it had to be understood, even if only very basically.[23] Initially limited (in England, at least) to knowledge of the Creed, the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, by the late thirteenth century the syllabus of instruction had been extended to cover 'the fourteen Articles of

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[22] Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70.4 (1995), 822-64; see particularly pp. 840-46.

[23] Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', in ASG Edwards (ed), *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press (1984), pp. 413-32, at p. 413.

Faith, the Decalogue, the two Evangelical Commandments, the Seven Works of Mercy, Deadly Sins, Principle Virtues, and Sacraments'.[24] The potential market for vernacular didactic material was therefore not to be underestimated.

It is therefore in this context that what Michael Sargent has described as '[o]ne of the most interesting developments in later medieval English devotional literature' emerged, namely 'the creation of devotional compilations drawn from the works of the English mystics or from Latin translations of continental writers'.[25] One particular type of devotional compilation which became extremely popular in the later Middle Ages was the presentation of the life of Christ incorporating prayer and meditative material, a subsection of devotional literature into which *The Fruyte* can be classified. These Lives of Christ were simultaneously a way of providing Biblical material in the vernacular while not necessarily being a full Biblical translation (thus circumventing some of the restrictions on Scriptural translation which were mandated by Archbishop Arundel), and could be presented in different ways for different audiences. Ian Johnson has noted that despite their differences, these texts

> had one paramount function in common: vernacular instruction on the all-important words and works of Christ. An increasingly important function in the later Middle Ages was that of stirring the soul affectively towards the love of God by a

[24] Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', pp. 414-15.

[25] Michael G Sargent, 'Minor Devotional Writings', in ASG Edwards (ed), *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press (1984), pp. 147-75, at p. 155.

> sympathetic rendering of Christ's life and particularly His Passion. The different versions were regarded as complementary. Holy Writ could be, and had to be, expounded in diverse manners to diverse people for diverse purposes. A translator would have in mind whether his audience were learned or 'simple', lay or enclosed religious, male or female, readers or hearers. Such complementary variety, rooted in a common conception of audience needs, reflected the harmonious diversity of the standard works of commentary and the Latin and French Lives of Christ used as sources by the translators.[26]

Johnson also considers the important point that the construction of these texts, which themselves often became the sources for other material, was itself part of a process of interpretation, noting that the Lives 'were part of a tradition of compilation because they excerpted and harmonized the Gospels (and also other materials), and because they exercised various orders and divisions in presenting materials.'[27] In the case of *The Fruyte*, both of the source texts are themselves different forms of Lives of Christ, one of which (the *Antidotarius Animae*) had itself been adapted from an earlier generation of original material, before being further excerpted in the process of translation into English.[28]

As will be examined in other sections in this chapter, the most striking result of

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[26] Ian Johnson, 'Prologue and Practice: Middle English Lives of Christ', in Roger Ellis (ed), *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: DS Brewer (1989), pp. 69-85, at p. 70.

[27] Johnson, 'Prologue and Practice', p. 72.

[28] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', pp. 229-30, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 26.

the analysis of Symon's use of his source material is the realisation that he did not follow a consistent method of translation from Latin to English throughout *The Fruyte*, but treated both the *Antidotarius* and Bridget's *Revelations* in varying ways according to what he perceived to be the demands of the English text which he was creating. Indeed, this use of more than one source immediately brings into question whether Symon should be regarded primarily as a translator or as a compiler, although in essence the concept of a translator as working only from a single source is far too restrictive. JD Burnley notes that 'any assumption that, to be called *translatour*, an author must work from a single base text is by no means borne out in fifteenth century usage',[29] which is also equally applicable to the situation in the early sixteenth century. As has been noted, Symon's own description of his work in the colophon to *The Fruyte* refers to it has having been 'compyled', although this may also reflect how he viewed the text as a whole, and its purpose. Indeed, although primarily discussing earlier texts, Johnson could have had *The Fruyte* in mind when referring to '[t]he ubiquitous, utilitarian and flexible medieval literary genre of *compilatio*', which he describes as being 'essentially concerned with the accessible presentation of authoritative materials according to the needs of the users of the book.'[30]

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[29] JD Burnley, 'Late medieval English translation: types and reflections', in Ellis (ed), *The Medieval Translator*, pp. 37-53, at pp. 39-40, referring to Roger Ellis, 'The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period', in Marion Glasscoe (ed), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press (1982), pp. 18-46.

[30] Johnson, 'Prologue and Practice', p. 72.

It may thus not be too much of an exaggeration to describe Symon as the 'author' of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, rather than its 'translator' or 'compiler'. The differences between these various categories have been considered by, amongst others, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al* in their anthology of literary theory *The Idea of the Vernacular*:

> Our own categories and models for authorship do not often overlap with what can be deduced from Middle English terminology and practice. … Authorship in the Middle Ages was more likely to be understood as participation in an intellectually and morally authoritative tradition, within which … a writer might fill one of several roles, copying, modifying, or translating, as well as composing.[31]

Wogan-Browne *et al* illustrate this argument with a discussion of lines 341-52 in the G text of *The Legend of Good Women*, describing the 'famous account of Chaucer as a harmless compiler or translator, who is not responsible for the "matere" that he uses, since he is not the *auctor* of the books he makes'. This, they argue, 'assumes a model of textual production in which writers gain authority less by their originality than by their contribution to an ongoing tradition', and further suggest that 'the title of *auctor* … is reserved for those who reshape material in such a way as to take responsibility for it in precisely the way Chaucer is here said *not* to do'.[32]

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[31] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al* (eds), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520*, Pennsylvania, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press (1999), pp. 4-5. See also Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate and Their Books 1473-1557*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006), Introduction pp. 1-26, particularly pp. 11-12.

[32] Wogan-Browne *et al*, *The Idea of the Vernacular,* p. 5, emphasis original.

Another aspect of this position can be seen in the arguments around Biblical translation; since the message was so important, translation had to be undertaken with great care, preferably word-for-word, so that the container should not contaminate the contents. However, when more instruction or commentary is needed, a way is found of presenting the essential points of the faith in a way which retains the essence but not necessarily the original structure (for example by harmonising the Gospel accounts into a single narrative). A text which is presented as a 'Life of Christ' rather than as 'the Gospel according to Matthew', for instance, is therefore already at least one step removed from those words which are regarded as too important to change, and so such a text may be treated with less rigidity in translation.

The difference in type of text between the *Revelations* and the *Antidotarius* may therefore be relevant in understanding why Symon treats his sources differently, as will be seen particularly in section 2.4. Although not regarded in the same way as the Scriptures themselves, Bridget's experience as presented in the *Revelations* is that of a first-hand account of an encounter with the Lord and with his mother. It was, of course, not unknown for portions of this text to be circulated separately from the whole; as Roger Ellis observes,

> the work's lack of concern for formal structure meant that a revelation could be removed from its context, usually, without difficulty; its vast size made necessary the provision of

> compilations as *aides-mémoire* to the full text; finally, its marked tendency to repeat itself dictated the selection and arrangement of *Revelations* material in the compilations according to the topics and ideas presented in the original.[33]

In whatever format Symon encountered the Latin text of the *Revelations*, whether it was in a full version or only those chapters from which the material used in *The Fruyte* is taken, he clearly felt confident enough to use passages out of order, while retaining enough respect for the original to limit his alterations of it to a change from first-person narrative to second-person. This is not, of course, to suggest that he did not respect the intentions of the compiler/author of the *Antidotarius*, but its nature as a less immediately personal text allows for more flexibility in the way in which it can be used.

The distinction between translator and author as one which is connected to the responsibility taken for the material written is also discussed elsewhere by Ellis, who states that '[t]he translator assumes the status of author most clearly when he rearranges his material … or … translates only selected parts of it'.[34] Although Ellis does not discuss *The Fruyte* in depth in this particular article, which is on translation and translators in the Middle Ages more generally, he does use both it and Symon's method as an example of a translator taking responsibility for his text:

> [The translator] can change the form of his original in a number

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[33] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', pp. 166-67.

[34] Ellis, 'The Choices of the Translator', p. 24.

> of ways, usually because he judges his readers to need something more or other than the original provides; occasionally because he reckons that the original itself is in need of improvement. A good example of the first kind of change occurs in Simon Appleby's *The Fruyte of Redempcion*. There, the Virgin's account of the Passion of the Christ in the *Liber Celestis* of Bridget of Sweden (I, 10), is turned into a series of prayers of thanksgiving.[35]

As discussed above, Ellis' conclusions regarding the source and construction of *The Fruyte* have since been superseded by Erler's work, but the fact that the Bridgettine material is not actually the main source or inspiration for the English text does not negate his argument here, instead rather proving both parts of it; not only does Symon judge that readers in English 'need something more or other than the [Latin] original provides', but he clearly 'reckons that the original itself is in need of improvement'. However, the original material on which Symon sought to improve was in fact the *Antidotarius Animae*, and those additions and improvements were provided from Bridget's *Revelations* and through Symon's own composition.

Before turning to analysis of Symon's methods of translation and original writing, though, it may be worth briefly comparing Symon's approach to that of his near contemporary, Richard Whitford, a comparison which is based on

[35] Ellis, 'The Choices of the Translator', pp. 20-21.

Veronica Lawrence's overview of Whitford's translated works,[36] particularly St Bernard's *De Praecepto et Dispensatione* in *The Pype, or tonne of the Lyfe of perfection*,[37] and *De Cura Rei Famuliaris* (attributed to Bernard Sylvester) in *A werke for housholders*.[38] Although writing a decade or so after Symon's composition of *The Fruyte*, Whitford similarly wrote in English for a lay audience, seeking 'to defend and explain the faith on the eve of the Reformation'.[39] *The Fruyte* is not noticeably defensive in its presentation of orthodox Catholic faith, which may be why Symon tends to be more creative in the use of his sources than Whitford appears to be, at least as described by Lawrence, who notes that 'he tends to be very faithful to the text that he is translating', and that '[o]nly very rarely will Whitford abbreviate his source text in his translation'.[40] However, the two men appear to have had broadly similar motivations for their work; Lawrence notes that

> [i]t is clear that Whitford's main aim in providing a translation of his source text is the provision of the text in an understandable form to an audience that had no Latin and no formal training in theology. He had no intention of failing in this aim through lack of efficient explanation of the concepts and teaching contained in his source.[41]

Symon's additions to and adaptations of his main source may be less

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[36] Veronica Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', in Roger Ellis & Ruth Evans (eds), *The Medieval Translator 4*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press (1994), pp. 136-52.

[37] *STC* 25421 (1532)

[38] *STC* 25425 (1537)

[39] Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', p. 136.

[40] Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', pp. 141, 142.

[41] Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', p. 143.

commentary-based than those which Whitford's method may have included, but his somewhat unusual method of translation and compilation has produced a text which possesses a clear overall structure with coherent internal construction, which is didactic without being over-authoritarian, which engages the readers' emotions without overwhelming them, and which shows him, in taking responsibility for his text in this way, to be a true author. As previously mentioned, this authorship is best demonstrated in the chapters of *The Fruyte* on the Seven Last Words from the Cross, but before the details of Symon's original work can be discussed, his use of his main and secondary sources, the *Antidotarius Animae* and Bridget's *Revelations*, needs to be considered.

2.2 The use of the *Antidotarius Animae*

The previous section of this chapter reflected on different approaches to translation in the Middle Ages, at different times and in relation to different types of material. As regards the genre of both material to be translated and the text into which it was rendered, the most pertinent genre for this consideration is that of Lives of Christ, and it was noted in section 2.1 that a degree of flexibility was allowed in dealing with such texts which was not necessarily permitted in the cases of direct Biblical translation. Mary Erler describes this as 'the substitution of scriptural summaries for vernacular scripture', which thus offers 'an approved version of the gospel narrative in place of the narrative itself'.[42] Since the *Antidotarius Animae* was already in a format which would meet with the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities, it might be supposed that in rendering the Latin text into English Symon would adhere closely to his source at all times, but the examination in this section will show that this was not the case. In departing from the original, Symon in turn creates his own original work, one which conforms where it needs to but which also demonstrates that devotional writing in English can be enriching without being doctrinally controversial.

As has been noted elsewhere, it is a mark of Symon's skill that the areas of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* where he translates verbatim from his sources can be

[42] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 29.

distinguished from those sections where the original is used as a starting point for his own reflections and meditations only by careful side-by-side analysis of the respective texts. This section and the next will therefore work through the English text chapter by chapter, to build up a comprehensive understanding of the structure and construction of *The Fruyte*.

In her outline of the details of the main source of *The Fruyte*, Erler notes that the *Antidotarius* 'was a popular and useful collection',[43] and indeed the number of known editions and surviving copies is testament to this observation. The British Library's Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) lists twenty-three editions printed between 1489 and 1501, seven from Strasbourg, six from Paris, three from Nuremberg, two from Metz, and one each from Antwerp, Hagenau, Delft, Venice, and Lyons.[44] Copies of eight of these editions are held in the British Library, three of which have been consulted for this research.[45] However, without much more detailed work beyond the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to determine which of these editions is likely to have been used

[43] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230.

[44] See http://istc.bl.uk, search term 'Antidotarius Animae', accessed 12 May 2014. See also Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 26 n. 43.

[45] The editions held in the British Library are those of 27 May 1490 printed in Antwerp (ISTC number is00036000, shelfmark IA 49823, consulted on 5 November 2011), 11 August 1491 printed in Strasbourg (ISTC number is00038000, shelfmark IA 1413), 4 March 1493 printed in Strasbourg (ISTC number is00039000, shelfmark IA1417, consulted on 5 November 2011), 31 August 1494 printed in Nuremberg (ISTC number is00041800, shelfmarks IA 8170 and IA 8171), 5 September 1494 printed in Hagenau (ISTC number is00042000, shelfmark IA 13728), 14 April 1495 printed in Delft (ISTC number is00043000, shelfmark IA 47188), c.1498-97 printed in Nuremberg (ISTC number is00043500, shelfmark IA 8230), and 30 March 1499 printed in Venice (ISTC number is00044000, shelfmark IA 22998, consulted on 28 May 2011 and 5 November 2011). The first of these copies, IA 49823, was also examined by Erler; see 'A London Anchorite', p. 230 n. 16.

by Symon Appulby in preparing *The Fruyte*. All references to the *Antidotarius* in this study are therefore to the first edition, printed in Strasbourg on 9 July 1489, although it should be noted that the chapters in this edition are not numbered, such numbers being added here for ease of reference.[46]

Chapter 1 of *The Fruyte* is a clear example of the *Antidotarius* being translated exactly into English, and indeed this helps to explain some of the slightly unwieldy words or phrases which occasionally occur in the English text, and which seem at odds with its otherwise generally well-flowing construction. For example, 'Aperi os meum in laude tua vt cantem gloriam nomini tuo' becomes 'Open my mouth in thy laude, that I may synge ioy to thy name'[47] reasonably enough, but other Latin sentences do not work quite so well when rendered into English, especially as the translation does not always follow the punctuation of the original. As a result,

> Sed tuam abissalem maiestatis dignitatem quis digne laudare potuit. Ecce omnes virtutes celorum atque vniuerse potestates angelice non sufficiunt tue celiitudinis magnitudinem condigne laudare quanto minus homo fragiler. putredo et vermis. deficit enim in condigna laude tua omnis creatura. omnis oratio. omnis lingua et sermocinatio. Quid igitur.[48]

is translated as

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[46] This edition is ISTC number is00035000, a pdf of which is available online via the Technische Universität Darmstadt at http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/inc-i-49 (initially accessed 30 May 2011, and checked 12 May 2014).

[47] *Antidotarius* sig. A[1], col. 1 lines 14-15; *The Fruyte* sig. A3, lines 2-3.

[48] *Antidotarius* sig. A[1], col. 1 lines 23-34.

> But the dignite of thy depe maieste who may prayse worthely, beholde all the vertues of heuens, and euery aungelyke potestate suffyseth not to laude condyngly the magnytude of thy hyghnes. How moche lesse a frayle man fylth and wormes meet fayleth in thy condygne laude. And so doth euery creature, euery oryson, euery tunge and sermocinacion, what now therfore.[49]

The contrast between Symon's skill as an editor and his occasional clumsiness as a translator will be considered further below, so in that overall context the use of 'sermocinacion' for 'sermocinatio' is somewhat less unusual than might be thought, although at such an early point in the text the use of an unfamiliar word nonetheless has a jarring effect.[50]

Despite this slightly awkward beginning, though, the chapters of *The Fruyte* which consist solely of literal translations from the *Antidotarius* are relatively limited in number, as it is only chapters 1, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, and 29 which conform to this pattern. Even then, there are instances when it is clear that Symon did not merely translate mechanically or unthinkingly, as words or phrases have been added, the structure of the chapter has been re-shaped, or very slight - not to say subtle - adjustments have been made to the text as it has been translated. By way of illustration of this point, it is noticeable that the

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[49] *The Fruyte* sig. A3, line 8 - sig. A3v, line 2.

[50] 'sermocinacion' does not appear in the *Middle English Dictionary* (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med, accessed 12 May 2014), although variations on 'sermonynge' are cited from the 1380s to c.1500. However, the *OED* gives this line from *The Fruyte* as the earliest entry for 'sermocination', which is the only sixteenth-century quotation cited for this word, as the others are seventeenth- or eighteenth-century: see '† sermocination, n.', OED Online March 2014, Oxford University Press http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/176488, accessed 12 May 2014.

reminder to prayer which is found at the end of most chapters of *The Fruyte*, 'Pater noster. Aue maria', is not present in the *Antidotarius*, although there is usually a concluding prayer of some sort at the end of each chapter in that text. However, Symon's treatment of these endings varies; in translating chapter 25 of the *Antidotarius* as chapter 17 of *The Fruyte*, the concluding 'Amen' of the original is replaced by 'Pater Noster. Aue',[51] whereas in the following chapter 'Pater noster. Aue maria' is added after the original's concluding 'Amen', rather than replacing it.[52] Both chapters 9 and 11 of *The Fruyte* faithfully follow the corresponding material in the *Antidotarius* (chapter 15 and the latter two-thirds of chapter 16) until the prayers at the end of these chapters, where a longer and more formal formula is replaced by 'Pater noster. Aue maria'.[53] Chapter 14 of the *Antidotarius* does not have a concluding prayer at all, but in its translated form as chapter 8 of *The Fruyte* the now-familiar words appear at the end.[54]

Chapter 12 of *The Fruyte*, which lists events and instances of Jesus' ministry from the period between his baptism and the Entry into Jerusalem, has no prayer of any kind at the end. In this respect it follows the source, chapter 17 of the *Antidotarius*, although Symon omits the last sentence of the original, which refers to Veronica and the imprint of Christ's face left on a cloth on his way to

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[51] *Antidotarius* sig. B[1], col. 2 line 4; *The Fruyte* sig. D2, line 22.

[52] *Antidotarius* sig B[1]v, col. 2 line 6; *The Fruyte* sig. D3, line 6.

[53] *Antidotarius* sig. A4, col. 1 lines 13-16 and col. 2 lines 19-20; *The Fruyte* sig. [B5]v, line 11 and sig [B6]v, line 1.

[54] *Antidotarius* sig. [A3]v, col. 2 lines 16-20; *The Fruyte* sig. [B5], line 20.

Calvary, and instead places this incident within the text of *The Fruyte* in the Passion narrative, at chapter 19 (where it forms part of the pattern of the Stations of the Cross).[55] Otherwise, chapter 12 is a faithful translation of the list of Jesus' actions, which in both Latin and English is presented without any interpretation or reflection, and the sentences which make up the list are predominantly very short, being only one clause long in most cases (although *The Fruyte* sometimes differs from the *Antidotarius* as regards sentence division). However, many of these sentences begin with 'Thou', especially in the latter part of the chapter, meaning that the list bears some resemblance to a litany. As a result, the structure of the text itself might provide a mechanism for reflection and meditation on the content of the text, without the need for additional authorial interpretation.

It is already becoming clear, then, that although generally content to follow the themes and subject matter of the *Antidotarius*, Symon was not afraid of applying his own structure and interpretation to the text as he translated it. This is, of course, most clearly seen in the passages where the two main sources have been combined, as will be discussed in the next section of this thesis on the use of material from Bridget's *Revelations*, but even in the chapters (or longer sections within chapters) of *The Fruyte* which are direct translations of either of the two Latin sources there are certain points where Symon changes or interpolates a

[55] See p. 170 in section 2.3 below.

word or two of his own into the text. This is particularly well-demonstrated in chapter 8, which describes the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and the massacre of the innocents by Herod. The Latin text of the *Antidotarius*, at chapter 14, reads:

> Gratias ago tibi domine Jesu christe. qui tu sapientia patris et virtus altissimi omnes infirmitates debilitates et defensiones nostras in te tam perfecte assumpsisti vt mortem et hominem mortalem fugeres de loco ad locum.[56]

However, the corresponding passage in *The Fruyte* reads:

> Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst, sapyence of the father, and vertue of the hygh god that woldest so perfytly take all our infirmytees, debilitees and offences on the, *exceptynge ignoraunce and synne,* so that thou wolde flee deth and a mortall man fro place to place, ...[57]

Aware that he has a responsibility to his readers to make sure that they are receiving true and correct instruction, for the avoidance of doubt Symon here adds the clause clarifying that Christ took on all humanity's offences except ignorance and sin, making sure that there can be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of the text.

This desire to provide clarification and elucidation on points of significance for the reader in English can be found as early in the text as chapter 2. Symon's editorialising becomes apparent from even a cursory comparison of *The Fruyte*

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[56] *Antidotarius* sig. A3v, col. 1 line 29 - col. 2 line 2.

[57] *The Fruyte* sig. [B5], lines 1-8, emphasis added.

and the *Antidotarius*, since chapter 2 of the latter is much shorter than chapter 2 of the former. In fact, chapters 2, 3, and part of 4 of the *Antidotarius* are combined in the English version, as can be seen from the respective chapter headings: 'Laus sancte trinitatis propter seipsam', 'De creatione celi terre et omnium que in eis sunt', and 'De creatione hominis et lapsu eius miserabili'[58] are combined to become 'Laude to the holy Trinite for hymselfe, and for the creacyon of heuen and erth, of aungell and man, and for his benefytes'.[59] In fact, Symon not only combines several chapters of his source into one, but also then divides chapter 4 of the original between his chapters 2 and 3, as well as adding material of his own between these sections of his translation.

The purpose of this editing and addition of material seems to be to provide the reader with a particular starting point for the meditative journey of the text, as well as to expand on themes which are present in the original. For instance, chapter 2 of the *Antidotarius* begins unremarkably enough:

> Domine deus omnipotens eterne. ineffabiler. sine fine. et absquam initio quem vnum in trinitate et trinum in vnitate confitemur.[60]

However, these lines are replaced in *The Fruyte* with:

> O Blessed lorde god, father, sone, and holy ghost, thre persones and one god, my lorde, my god [,] my maker, my redemptour, my nourissher, my defender, my swetnes, my mercy, my refuge,

[58] *Antidotarius* sig. A[1], col. 2 lines 10-11, col. 2 lines 27-28, and sig. A[1]v, col. 1 lines 10-11.

[59] *The Fruyte* sig. A3v, lines 8-10.

[60] *Antidotarius* sig. A1, col. 2 lines 12-17.

> my strength, my victory, my sauyour [,] my ioye, and my glory eternall.[61]

While providing a solid reiteration of the nature of the Trinity ('thre persones and one god') which is less mysterious than that in the Latin ('vnum in trinitate et trinum in vnitate'), this sentence also manages to be more mystical than the Latin. The very short clauses and the repeated emphasis on the relationship of the reader to God mean that following the more prosaic, even earthy, feel of chapter 1 (for example, reference to 'a frayle man fylth and wormes meet' is not particularly mystical), the atmosphere immediately deepens, indicating to the reader what the focus of this opening section is intended to be: worship and praise of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

However, lest the reader become too absorbed in contemplation too soon, the rest of the chapter moves from a consideration of God to one of that which he has made, starting with heaven and earth and moving down from the angels to mankind. Once again, Symon's desire to expand on the points covered in the original can be seen, as about half of this chapter is original to *The Fruyte*. The direct translation from the *Antidotarius* ends with the placement of humanity in relation to the rest of creation ('… and to possede all thynges to worshyp the for euermore'),[62] and although some phrases and ideas in the rest of this chapter draw on material in chapter 41 of the *Antidotarius* (which itself demonstrates

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[61] *The Fruyte* sig. A3v, lines 11-18.

[62] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4], lines 7-8.

Symon's knowledge of his source, in his ability to combine material from the end of the text with material from the start), the treatment and argument is entirely Symon's. Personal reflection of this kind is not present in this form and at this point in the *Antidotarius*; in the source, the text continues from where it left off in the middle of chapter 4, to which Symon returns as the opening of his chapter 3. This is therefore a clear example of how Symon has not only reworked the original, but arguably has improved on it. That is not to say that the *Antidotarius* does not reflect on the sinful nature of man, but in the original this appears in chapter 5, after the reference to (although not description of) the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise in the latter half of chapter 4. The material present in chapter 5 of the *Antidotarius* is not used in *The Fruyte* at all, and thus is the first major omission from the source text in the English version.

Although at this point in both texts there is more reflection than narrative, and even as the story unfolds reflection continues to be bound into the narrative passages, Symon's arrangement of the material seems to have a more logical progression than that found in the *Antidotarius*. As a result, the reader is made to reflect on his or her own sinful nature before considering the divine solution to the wider problem of the sin of all humanity. If the aim of the text is to reflect on 'the werke of our redempcyon', then it is more relevant to the reader if the need to be redeemed personally as an individual is made clear and understood. Viewed in this context, then, an original phrase from chapter 2 such as

> … thou hast suffred me in all myn iniquite, malyce, and all myn horryble and abhomynable synnes, pacyently alway abydynge for my conuersyon and amendment, whan innumerable tymes thou myght haue slayne me, and of ryght haue put me to eternall paynes and dampnacyon.[63]

may have more immediacy than the translated reference in chapter 3 to Adam being 'worthy eternall dampnacyon for his transgressyon, and sholde not haue forgyuenes'.[64] The woodcut at the start of chapter 1 in the editions printed by de Worde, of the figure kneeling before Christ, thus increasingly comes to represent the reader, who must perforce speak as a penitent sinner when reading the text.

Symon's readiness to rearrange and rework his source material can also be seen in chapter 3 of *The Fruyte*. Here, he seamlessly joins together the second half of chapter 4 and all of chapter 6 of the *Antidotarius* (using the headings of those chapters in the same way), completely omits chapter 5, skips over chapter 7 (but returns to it in his chapter 4), and reworks the theme of chapter 8 in his own words. Given the chapter heading and subject matter of chapter 8, 'De cooperatione omnium trium personarum in diuinis quo ad misterium incarnationis',[65] it is not immediately clear why Symon chose to rewrite this material, as the way in which it is presented in *The Fruyte* appears at first glance to differ little in approach from the treatment in the *Antidotarius*. However, a

[63] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4], lines 26-31.

[64] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4]v, lines 25-26.

[65] *Antidotarius* sig. A2v, col. 1 lines 26-28.

closer examination shows that Symon's version is longer, and touches on the mystical process of the Incarnation, emphasising the dual human and divine nature of Christ, which the Latin does not:

> … the holy ghoost gaderynge togyder the clene and pure droppes of blode of her virgynall body, fourmynge therwith the precyous body of thyne humanite ...[66]

Also present in the English but not in the Latin, giving another example of the clarification which Symon was keen to provide for the benefit of his readers, is the reminder that although all three Persons of the Trinity were involved in the decision and process of the Incarnation, 'the seconde persone in deite onely toke our sayd humanite on hym'.[67] In addition to providing clarity for the reader, amendments and interpolations such as this also demonstrate the orthodoxy and acceptability of the English text, for the reassurance of all.

It is thus becoming clear that while Symon was content to use the overall structure and theme of the *Antidotarius* as he prepared *The Fruyte*, he did not feel bound rigidly to follow the words or interpretive approach of his main source. This is even more apparent in the chapters which also use Bridgettine material as an additional source. The way in which Symon uses the *Revelations* will be discussed in more detail in the next section, but again it can be seen that the way in which Symon uses this secondary source varies depending on the context.

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[66] *The Fruyte* sig. B[1]v, lines 2-5.

[67] *The Fruyte* sig. B[1], lines 28-29.

The majority of chapter 4 of *The Fruyte* is taken from the *Revelations*, with two passages from the *Antidotarius* translated word for word and inserted into the Bridgettine material, and other elements of the relevant chapters of the *Antidotarius* reworked in Symon's own words and incorporated into the text in appropriate places. The sections from the *Antidotarius* which are here translated verbatim are both directly addressed to the Virgin. Although the chapter as a whole is also thus directed, these two specific passages are instances of prayer to and praise of Mary, thus providing a different perspective from that of the *Revelations*.[68] These passages are from the first half of chapter 9 and the second half of chapter 11 of the *Antidotarius*, and in the case of the second passage, which concludes chapter 4 of *The Fruyte*, although the English text is again a faithful translation of the Latin the personal pronouns have been changed so that Mary is addressed, rather than Christ. Yet it is worth noting that chapter 9 of the *Antidotarius* is also directed to Mary, beginning 'Laudo et glorifico te. o virgo virginum Maria',[69] and which Symon renders into English as 'I laude and honour the O Mary virgyn of virgyns'.[70] This is the first chapter in the Latin text not to have been addressed to God (whether that be simply as God, or as the Trinity, or as one of the Persons of the Trinity), and is the only chapter in

[68] Throughout his use of the Bridgettine material, Symon changes the first person narrative of Bridget's vision experience to the second person narrative of descriptive or discursive reflection, but even so prayers directed to Mary have to come from a source other than one which purports to be Mary herself speaking.

[69] *Antidotarius* sig. A2v, col. 2 lines 18-19.

[70] *The Fruyte* sig. B2, lines 13-14.

that text which is addressed to the Virgin; the next chapter in the *Antidotarius*, on the Nativity, is addressed to 'domine Jesu christe eterna patris sapientia'.[71]

The material from the *Antidotarius* which Symon then reworks rather than directly translates in his chapter 4 comes from chapters 7 and 10 of the Latin, and refers to the events of the Annunciation and the Nativity. The former of these is also covered by the Bridgettine material, but (as will be discussed further in the next section) the *Revelations* do not include the details of the birth narrative which are found in Luke 2, and which would presumably have been familiar to Symon's original readers from both that account and from other sources such as mystery plays and other Lives of Christ, including Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.[72] Symon brings some of these familiar details into his composite version:

> And whan thy swete sone our lorde Jesu Chryst bryghtnes of the fathers glory was borne, thou lapped hym in poore clothes, reclynynge hym in a racke, for there was none other place whervpon to laye hym.[73]

However, although he includes this reference from the *Antidotarius*, Symon omits the mention in chapter 10 of that source of the choir of angels and the visiting shepherds, as well as any mention of Joseph. Although Joseph does not appear in the Nativity chapter in the Latin, he is referred to in chapter 7, prior to

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[71] *Antidotarius* sig. A3, col. 1 lines 12-14.

[72] See, for instance, Michael G Sargent (ed), *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ: A reading text*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press (2004); at chapter 6, pp. 37-41.

[73] *The Fruyte* sig. B3, lines 3-6.

the appearance to Mary of the angelic messenger with news of the Incarnation. Since he does not appear elsewhere in the *Antidotarius*, and is similarly absent from the Bridgettine material as used in *The Fruyte*, Symon apparently sees no need to include him at all in his English text. This verbal absence is highlighted by the visual presence of Joseph in the woodcuts depicting the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Presentation, and the Flight to Egypt, a dissonance between text and image which will be considered in chapter 3 of this thesis.[74]

There is little which is particularly remarkable about Symon's treatment of the *Antidotarius* in the next few chapters of *The Fruyte*. He is faithful in translation, but does not always follow the chapter divisions of the original, since he divides the Latin chapter 13 (and its heading) to form his chapters 6 and 7, with appropriate headings. In both cases, though, and also in the use of the *Antidotarius* chapter 12 as *The Fruyte* chapter 5, Symon adds prayer and interpretation which is not present in the source. Thus in the description of the Adoration of the Magi, two sentences at the start of the *Antidotarius* chapter 13 become the first half of the first sentence of the English, which is then completed by Symon's original composition. Here, he again provides details which are likely to have been familiar to his original readers (in this case, the gifts of 'golde, encence, and myrre' from Matthew 2,[75] and the interpretation of

[74] See pp. 232-33 below.

[75] *The Fruyte* sig. [B4], line 11.

their significance) but which are not present in the Latin source.[76]

Chapter 10 of *The Fruyte* is thus the first chapter which contains no directly translated material from the *Antidotarius* at all, although Symon takes the first sentence of chapter 16, on the baptism of Jesus by John, as his starting point. Indeed, most of this chapter of the *Antidotarius* deals with Jesus' time in the wilderness after his baptism (which Symon then translates verbatim as his chapter 11), so the English chapter of 25 lines has been constructed from one sentence in Latin:

> Gratias tibi ago domine iesu christe qui in sancto baptismate tuo quod accepisti in iordanis flumine consecrasti et sanctificasti fontem nostri baptismatis et ibi sancto Johanni tuam gloriosam trinitatem ostendisti.[77]

Once again, Symon adds Biblical material which is not included in the *Antidotarius*, including the voice from heaven and the Spirit appearing in the form of a dove (as in the accounts in Matthew 2, Mark 1, and Luke 3). As will be seen further below, regarding the Seven Last Words from the Cross, there is direct Biblical material in the Latin source (taken from the Vulgate) which is translated into the English text, so it is possible that even though such Scriptural passages are fragmentary and scattered throughout the text, and are not signposted in the same way as is the Bridgettine material, the very presence of

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[76] For comparison, see chapter 8 of *The Mirror*, where Love mentions the gifts but deliberately does not consider their meaning and interpretation: Sargent, *The Mirror*, pp. 45-46.

[77] *Antidotarius* sig. A4, col. 1 lines 18-25.

such passages was considered sufficient to warrant the episcopal endorsement of the text by Richard Fitzjames, as required by Arundel's Constitutions of a century earlier.[78] Yet the fact that such material can be found threaded into the translations of the source texts also serves to demonstrate Symon's confidence in and familiarity with the material he chose to use in compiling *The Fruyte*. Apart from the marginal references to the Bridgettine *Revelations*, there is little to indicate to the reader in either the tone or the overall feel of the text when a particular chapter is original to Symon, when it is a translation or adaptation of the source(s), or when it is a combination of these methods. Increasingly it can be seen that this is a very skilful piece of work.

This combination of exact translation of the *Antidotarius* and original reflection using themes from it continues as *The Fruyte* progresses. Increasingly, sections of chapters rather than whole chapters are translated, which often has the effect of speeding up the pace of the narrative. The emerging difference in Symon's approach in this part of the text from that noted above is that often sections of the *Antidotarius* which contain Biblical incidents are here omitted from *The Fruyte*; for instance, while chapter 13 of the English text moves from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Last Supper in the space of a couple of sentences, the *Antidotarius* spends most of the comparable chapter (chapter 18) considering the events in between, such as the Cleansing of the Temple. Since Symon's overall

[78] See the Introduction above, and also section 1.1.

argument is focussed on the Passion and the act of salvation, it would appear that these narrative details are considered unnecessary. To this end, later in chapter 13, whereas the Latin text contains a fairly straightforward description of the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper with a very small amount of reflection, Symon describes the event itself relatively briefly but then becomes quite didactic in his reflections on the importance of the sacrament:

> And the souper ended thou made a termynacyon of the olde testament, begynnynge the newe, whan than with thy holy handes thou dyd consecrate thy precyous body and blode in forme of breed and wyne, fedynge thy discyples therwith, gyuynge them auctorite, and by them to all preestes to the worldes ende to do the same, whan thou sayd these wordes. Do ye this in to my commemoracyon. O what excellent loue shewed thou to vs good Jesu in that tyme whan not onely thou wolde dye for vs, but also woldest fede vs dayly with thy precyous body and blode, that we sholde not hunger ne thurste for euermore. And for that we synne dayly agaynst god, and thou myght dye but ones for vs, therfore in this worthy sacrament thou wolde dayly be offred by the handes of the preest to god thy father for our cotydyan synnes. And for as moche as we be in dayly conflycte of batayle with our cruell enemy the feende, thou ordeyned suche prouysyon for vs, that the percepcyon of this worthy sacrament sholde be a toure of strengthe for vs agaynst his cruell malyce. And for that we sholde haue sure trust to obteyne the kyngdome of heuen, thou hast gyuen vs the sacrament of thy precyous body to be a

> pledge or a wedde to vs of eternall glorye, and to lede vs the waye to thy gloryous kyngdome.[79]

It is worth noting that although Symon mentions that the Eucharist is to be celebrated daily, he does not appear to be encouraging his readers to receive communion every time they attend Mass. As Eamon Duffy notes, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries 'frequent communion was the prerogative of the few',[80] and while some of Symon's readers may have fallen into that category it is likely that the majority did not. For most of the year, therefore, 'percepcyon of this worthy sacrament' would be the closest that the devout laity would get to the means of salvation, although in this they may have had much in common with Symon himself, enclosed in his cell from which he would probably have been able to see the high altar of All Hallows, but unable to receive the sacrament unless it was brought to the window between the anchorhold and the church (unless, being a priest, he had an altar in his cell).[81]

Immediately following this extended reflection, Symon omits chapter 20 of the

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[79] *The Fruyte* sig. C2, lines 1-25.

[80] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press (1992, 2nd edition 2005), p. 93.

[81] In the absence of archaeological evidence for the location of the All Hallows anchorhold, the presumption is made that it followed the generally accepted pattern of having such a window, or a squint serving a similar purpose; see, for instance, Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, London: Methuen (1914), p. 179; EA Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits in Historical Context', in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, & EA Jones (eds), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, Cambridge: DS Brewer (2005), pp. 3-18, at p. 10; and the brief survey in Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, University of Wales Press: Cardiff (2012), pp. 6-7.

Antidotarius, which presents a very condensed overview of the farewell discourses of John 14-17, and which once again does not serve to progress either the narrative or the focussed reflection. However, Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane before the betrayal is used in *The Fruyte*, although chapter 14 is more of an adaptation than a direct translation of chapter 21 of the original. Some phrases from the Latin are used, including Christ's plea to the Father 'Mi pater Si possibile est transeat a me calix iste',[82] which becomes 'Father yf it be possyble make and cause the chalyce of this bytter passyon to be taken fro me',[83] but for the most part the reflection is Symon's own.

The pace of events picks up again in chapter 15 of *The Fruyte*, which takes less time than does the *Antidotarius* to reach the point of Judas' kiss of betrayal. Chapter 22 of the Latin text includes the exchanges of dialogue before the kiss (as in John 18), and also the incident of Peter cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant, all of which are omitted from *The Fruyte*. Indeed, from this point onwards, with the exception of Mary and John (the latter of whom appears only in chapter 22) the disciples are written out of the story until Jesus has died, at which point they begin to reappear. The focus is very definitely on Christ, and while other players in the drama such as Caiaphas, Pilate, and the thieves crucified with Christ, are essential and need to be kept, any extraneous

[82] *Antidotarius* sig. [A6], col. 2 line 34 - sig. [A6]v, col. 1 line 2, using the Vulgate text of Matthew 26.39.

[83] *The Fruyte* sig. C2v, lines 23-25.

characters are pushed off-stage so that the main character can occupy the spotlight unimpeded.

This specific focus on Christ is likely to be a significant reason for the way in which Symon arranges the material taken from the *Antidotarius* when constructing *The Fruyte*. For instance, chapter 15 of the English text comprises the theme of chapter 22 of the *Antidotarius* (the Betrayal by Judas, although the exact content is not used), about two-thirds of chapter 23 (with the other third omitted completely), and half of chapter 24. Having pulled together material from several chapters, Symon then introduces a chapter break which is not in the original, at the point at which 'with vnhoneste vnreuerently Herode sente the to Pylate agayne',[84] and then concludes this chapter with a prayer which focuses the reader's reflections on Jesus' sufferings and how the individual might draw strength from this in a time of need:

> Meke Jesu I beseche the for all these irrysyons and vexacyons that thyne enemyes dyd to the, defende me from al myne enemyes bodyly and ghostly, and sende me pacyence in all tribulacyons and aduersytees. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[85]

The remainder of chapter 24 of the *Antidotarius* is used (with the exception of about twenty lines in the middle of the chapter) as *The Fruyte*'s chapter 16, including the closing prayer. This prayer focuses on the physical injuries

[84] *The Fruyte* sig. [C4]v, lines 1-2.

[85] *The Fruyte* sig. [C4]v, lines 7-11.

sustained by Christ to this point in the Passion narrative, but there is here less direction to apply such reflection to active and everyday life:

> … for thy dredes, anguysshes, effusyons of blode, and for all the pryntes of woundes whiche thou toke in thy bytter scourgynge, and for the hony swete memory of thy blessed passyon I beseche the to gyue me grace perseuerauntly to bere it in the cogitacyons of my herte, and that thou wylte ouersprynge the interyour partes of my herte with thy precyous blode, to the laude and glory of thy name. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[86]

The small section of chapter 24 of the *Antidotarius* which Symon omits from his translation in chapter 16 of *The Fruyte* regards the scourging of Christ at Pilate's command. This incident is present in *The Fruyte*, but the source is rather the relevant material from the Bridgettine *Revelations*, and the chapter also incorporates some of Symon's own writing to link the sections together. As will be discussed in the next section on the use of the *Revelations* in *The Fruyte*, this is one of the passages where mention of, or reflection on, Mary is added because it is not present in the original, rather than being enhanced from the original as is the case in other chapters of *The Fruyte* such as chapter 4.

Chapters 18 and 19 of *The Fruyte* respectively show Symon's dexterity with his source material in different ways. Chapter 18 is an almost exact translation of chapter 26 of the *Antidotarius*, with occasional omissions of sentences or

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[86] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1]v, lines 14-21; 'Pater noster. Aue maria' is added by Symon to the 'Amen' of the original.

phrases. However, these omissions are so carefully handled that the narrative flow in the English version is not affected. The exchanges between Pilate and Christ, and Pilate's addresses to the crowd, are a combination of the accounts from Matthew 27 and John 19, which itself shows a high level of skill on the part of the compiler of the Latin text, in combining the two accounts into one narrative.[87] Symon, however, increases the pace of events by cutting out at least one of these exchanges. The relevant passage in *The Fruyte* reads:

> Than Pylate wente out and sayd to the iewes, beholde your kynge. They denyed and forsoke the to be theyr kynge, sayenge. We haue no kynge but Cesar.[88]

However, in the original Latin, which follows more closely the Gospel account, it takes longer for the crowd to acknowledge the Emperor's jurisdiction:

> Tunc exiuit pilatus. et sedit pro tribunali. dixit quam iudeis. Ecce rex vester. Illi at clamabant dicentes. Tolle. tolle crucifige eum. Et dixit pilatus Regem vestrum crucifigam. Illi at negauerunt. et abdicauerunt te regem suum esse dicentes Non habemus regem. nisi cesarem.[89]

The overall effect of this passage in the English is not diminished by this omission, and unless the original readers were particularly familiar with the details of this scene, either from hearing it read in church or from seeing it presented in mystery plays, they may not have realised that anything had been removed in the editing process.

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[87] The accepted attribution of the *Antidotarius* is to Nicholas Salicetus or Weydenbosch, abbot of the Cistercian house at Baumgarten, Alsace; see Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 26.

[88] *The Fruyte* sig. D2v, lines 15-18.

[89] *Antidotarius* sig. B[1]v, col. 1 lines 2-10.

Chapter 19, though, shows a different aspect of Symon's skill as an editor. For the majority of this chapter there is little direct translation from the *Antidotarius* (although what is present is from chapter 27), and the material which is included is often only a sentence at a time, and sometimes even less. These fragments are interspersed with Symon's own writing, with material adapted but not directly translated from the *Antidotarius*, and with phrases and sentences from Bridget's *Revelations*, this latter indicating that this is a chapter where Mary again appears. The last quarter to a third of this chapter in English is a direct translation of the last third of the *Antidotarius* chapter, but the rest of the chapter combines material from the different sources, often resulting in one sentence being taken from the *Revelations* and the next from the *Antidotarius*. Previous chapters where Bridgettine and *Antidotarius* material have been combined to form the text of *The Fruyte* tend to resemble a patchwork quilt, with longer passages from different sources following each other in blocks. The effect in chapter 19, however, is more like that of a tapestry, with shorter passages from different sources being woven together to create a whole from individual strands.

It may be interesting to note that in this chapter, Symon ensures that in one regard *The Fruyte* has more in common with a particular tradition of Latin Passion narratives than does the *Antidotarius* itself. In his examination of this

genre, Thomas Bestul discusses a particularly graphic element of such narratives, recurring in texts from the thirteenth century onwards written both in England and on the Continent, whereby when Christ's clothes are removed for the last time before the Crucifixion, they are described as being so stuck to his body by dried blood that portions of skin and flesh are removed with them.[90] This detail demonstrates both the depth of Christ's suffering and also the cruelty of those causing him to suffer. Although in English Symon often omits the focus on the physical torments of Christ which is present in the Latin of the *Antidotarius*, here he adds detail which is not in his source. Chapter 19 starts:

> Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst that the syxt houre of the day puttest of the purpre vestement, where than the cursed tyrantes fyersly plucked it of from thy tender body sore wounded whan it was cleuen fast with drye blode to thy body, wherwith they drewe the skynne and the flesshe, with the whiche thy body was all to rent, rased and torne, and stremed agayn fresshely with blode. And than they clothed the eftsones in thyne owne vesture full ignomynyously, …[91]

but what is not apparent except in detailed analysis is that the clauses 'where than the cursed tyrantes … fresshely with blode' are not found in the *Antidotarius*. Indeed, in that text the sentences either side of Symon's insertion follow on one from the other.[92] Such additions are therefore further evidence of

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[90] Thomas Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, Pennsylvania, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press (1996), for instance at pp. 50, 55, 59, and 61-62.

[91] *The Fruyte* sig. D3, lines 9-21.

[92] See *Antidotarius* sig. B[1]v, col. 2 lines 9-13.

Symon's confidence in his ability to use and craft his source material.

However, despite Symon's evident skill as an editor and compiler, there are moments when he appears to be a much less skilled translator, as has already been mentioned. As noted above, when translating he demonstrates a tendency to do so very literally, to the extent of following the Latin sentence structure and occasionally anglicising words rather than actually translating them into English. This stands out in one particular phrase from chapter 25 of the *Antidotarius*, a chapter which is rendered in its entirety into English as chapter 17 of *The Fruyte*. The Latin phrase

> … et clamide coccinea circumderunt te regem glorie qui ab eterno circumdatus es gloria et honore.[93]

is given by Symon as

> … they clothed the kynge of glory with an olde purpre cloth, that fro the begynnynge were circumdate with glory and honour, ...[94]

It is strange that the same word ('circumderunt'/'circumdatus'), which is clearly used in the Latin to show the difference between what is due to Christ as God and how he is treated by Pilate's soldiers as a man, should be translated into English at its first occurrence as 'clothed', but only anglicised as 'circumdate' rather than translated again at the second occurrence. The rhetorical impact is therefore lost in the English version, which is unusual since

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[93] *Antidotarius* sig. B[1], col. 1 lines 4-7.

[94] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1]v, lines 27-29.

elsewhere in the text Symon shows a keen eye for such linguistic flourishes.

The next seven chapters of *The Fruyte*, chapters 20 to 26, show a marked difference in both content and structure from that of the *Antidotarius*, and here Symon's intention is quite clear, as these seven chapters each take as their theme one of the Seven Last Words of Christ from the Cross, a pattern which is not present in the source material. These chapters will be considered in more detail in section 2.4 below, but it is worth giving a brief overview of them here. Although the heading to the first of these chapters combines elements of the headings to chapters 28 and 29 of the *Antidotarius*, so that 'De opprobriis iudeorum' from the latter and 'et de supplicatione pro inimicis suis' from the former respectively[95] are combined as 'Of the blasphemes of the iewes, and of the prayer of Jesu on the crosse for his enemyes',[96] there is no direct translation in the body of the chapter at all, as the content of the English chapter is a free adaptation of the theme of *Antidotarius* chapter 29 with a very short interpolation of Bridgettine material. In fact the subject of this chapter, the first of Christ's utterances, 'Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do',[97] is not present in either the *Antidotarius* or in the *Revelations*. Similarly, *The Fruyte* chapter 21 continues the adaptation of the same chapter of the *Antidotarius*, and adds to this account the words of Christ to the penitent thief,

[95] *Antidotarius* sig. B2v, col. 1 line 1 and sig. B2, col. 1 lines 28-30.

[96] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4], lines 25-26.

[97] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, lines 9-10.

'Truly I saye to the this day thou shalt be with me in paradyse'.[98] It is perhaps somewhat surprising that this line should not appear in the *Antidotarius*, since the source text does contain the insult and supplication respectively of the two thieves crucified with Jesus, as in Luke 23:

> Et vnus de latronibus blasphemabat te dicens. Si tu es christus salua temet ipsum et nos. Altus vero dixit. Memento mei domine dum veneris in regnum tuum.[99]

In chapter 22, Symon returns to direct translation of the *Antidotarius*, at least to start with, in describing the Virgin's suffering while watching her son on the cross and his compassion towards her even in this moment. Material from the *Revelations* supplements the affective language, but although the Bridgettine text and the *Antidotarius* both describe the mutual commendation of Mary to John, the words of Christ 'Woman beholde thy sone'[100] appear in neither source and are instead added by Symon, as is the chapter's closing prayer. Here, though, the English does not include the reciprocal commendation of John to Mary, although both sources indicate that this is a two-way gesture; the *Antidotarius* here reads '… matrem tuam commendasti sancto Johanni. et illum ei recommendasti.'[101]

The last four Words are all present in the main Latin source, but Symon changes

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[98] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, line 31 - sig. [D5], line 1.

[99] *Antidotarius* sig. B2v, col. 1 line 32 - col. 2 line 4.

[100] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, line 2.

[101] *Antidotarius* sig. B3, col. 2 lines 5-6.

the order of the fourth and fifth Words as given in the *Antidotarius*, which follows the more usual and accepted pattern. Chapter 23 of *The Fruyte* begins with a translation of a very short section of chapter 33 of the *Antidotarius*, including 'Sitio. I thurste',[102] although the reflection and prayer which makes up the rest of the chapter (which is not much, proportionally, as the whole chapter is only sixteen lines long) is original to Symon. Even less of chapter 33 then appears in *The Fruyte* chapter 25, which deals with the sixth Word, 'Consummatum est', where it is combined with a similarly brief translation from chapter 32 of the Latin text. Here, though, unlike in chapter 23, Symon does not offer an immediate translation of the Latin phrase. Instead there is an interpretative reflection, which is a combination of material adapted from the relevant portion of the *Antidotarius* and original writing:

> … about the houre of thy deth saydest these wordes Consummatum est, as though thou sayd. Euery thynge that hath be sayd of me by the mouthes of holy prophetes, or fygured of me in the lawe fro the tyme of my concepcion vnto the houre of my deth now is fulfylled in me.[103]

In between these two very short chapters, which deal separately in English with material from the same chapter in Latin, chapter 24 of *The Fruyte* focuses on Christ's cry of anguish, 'My god, my god, why hast thou forsake me'.[104] This is a longer chapter, and although the opening sentence is Symon's own, most of

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[102] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, line 16; compare *Antidotarius* sig. [B4], col. 1 line 20.

[103] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 13-17.

[104] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6], line 14.

the material is a translation from *Antidotarius* chapter 31, with the addition of some Bridgettine material describing the physical appearance of the dying Christ. Here, Symon uses only the English form of the Word, although the *Antidotarius* has the phrase in both Latin and a rough approximation of Aramaic:

> heloy heloy lamasabathani. hoc est deus meus deus meus vt quid me dereliquisti.[105]

The interpretation and reflection which follows in the *Antidotarius* is then used by Symon for the rest of his chapter, in a combination of faithful translation and freer adaptation.

Chapter 26 of *The Fruyte* is again a patchwork of original material and passages from both the *Antidotarius* and the *Revelations*, but although the final Word 'O father in to thy handes I betake my spiryte'[106] does appear in the *Antidotarius* ('Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum'),[107] Symon's source at this point in the chapter is actually the *Revelations*. The description of the moment of Christ's death, though, with reference to the harrowing of hell, is Symon's own, as there is no mention of the moment of death in the Bridgettine source, and the *Antidotarius* has the unembellished line 'et sic inclinato capite spiritum emisisti' at this point, as per John 19.30.[108] The *Antidotarius* does contain a

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[105] *Antidotarius* sig. B3, col. 2 lines 16-18.

[106] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1], lines 8-9.

[107] *Antidotarius* sig. [B4], col. 1 lines 28-29.

[108] *Antidotarius* sig. [B4], col. 1 lines 29-31.

reference to the harrowing of hell, but this is found in chapter 36 (which is not used in *The Fruyte*) and is there presented with a degree of analysis of the episode greater than is to be found in the couple of sentences of description which appear in *The Fruyte* chapter 26. Although Symon follows the *Antidotarius* later in the chapter in the reflection on Christ leaning his head on his shoulder, the final prayer is original and - like the prayers at the end of each of these seven chapters - picks up the particular Word specific to that chapter. The structure of this particular section within *The Fruyte*, then, is clearly deliberately constructed by Symon in the process of editing and translating, in contrast to other parts of the text where he is happy merely to translate verbatim.[109]

It would not be entirely correct to say that having reached this point, which in many ways is the crux of his argument (pun intended), Symon then loses interest in his source material, but it is the case that after describing Christ's death the speed at which the rest of the text unfolds is much quicker than it is in the *Antidotarius*. In increasing the pace of the narrative and correspondingly adjusting the structure, Symon omits the majority of chapter 32 of the *Antidotarius*, which details the three hours in which Christ 'henge … a lyue in

[109] In the final edition of *The Fruyte*, *STC* 22560, where there are additional marginal notes indicating how to divide the text so as to read it across the course of one week, chapters 20 to 25 are included in those designated for Thursday ('Feria quinta', sig. E2 of that edition) and chapters 26 to 28 in the portion for Friday ('Feria sexta', sig. F1v), thus introducing a division into the structure of these seven chapters.

horryble turmentes on the crosse',[110] and following the description of Jesus' death *The Fruyte* similarly deals only briefly with the 'thre houres' he spent 'myserably deed on the crosse',[111] both of which are contained in chapter 27. Chapter 34 of the *Antidotarius* focusses on this period in more depth, but the details are given a different interpretation; the Latin text reflects on the blood and water which flowed from Christ's side on being pierced by the spear, but Symon uses this image to link the act of redemption with the Fall of Man, thus completing the circle of salvation:

> And than were the gates of heuen opened to vs, whiche fro the tyme that Adam had synned to that houre were contynually sparde agaynst vs. And as our fyrst mother Eue was formed of the syde of Adam slepynge in paradyse, so our chaste mother holy chirche good Jesu of thy syde, whiche arte the seconde Adam hangynge deed on the crosse was formed, and al the sacramentes of the same our sayd good mother of thy foresayd precyous wounde toke all theyr strength and vertue. And where as by the transgressyon of our fyrst parentes Adam and Eue all we were the chyldren of perdicyon. So by the swete Jesu the seconde Adam by thy passyon and the sacrament of baptysme we be made the chyldren of adopcyon.[112]

It is somewhat surprising, though, that chapter 35 of the *Antidotarius* is omitted completely from *The Fruyte*, since as well as describing the physical aspect of Christ after death, the Latin text also reflects on the act of salvation and

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[110] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1]v, line 30 - sig. E2, line 1.

[111] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1]v, lines 29-30.

[112] *The Fruyte* sig. E2, lines 3-17.

addresses all three persons of the Trinity. This is a theme which in other places in the text Symon has added to the material which he has used from the main source, so it might have been natural to have included it here, but as has been demonstrated Symon's editing often aims to move the narrative along, and including chapter 35 would say little new which has not been said before.

The chapter on the Deposition in *The Fruyte*, chapter 28, does not use material from the *Antidotarius* at all (the relevant chapter there being chapter 36), but instead combines brief Bridgettine phrases with Symon's own writing, and these blend together to make this episode more descriptive and affecting in English than is presented in Latin. While the omission of the affective description of Christ's dead body in the previous chapter therefore makes sense in some respects, it makes less sense in others. This apparently contradictory treatment of the source material, though, shows that Symon had no fixed method of translating it into English, but was prepared to deal with each chapter on its merits, depending on how it fitted into his overall vision of the text. This can also be seen in chapters 29 and 30 of *The Fruyte*, on the Resurrection and the Ascension, which are generally faithful translations of chapters 37 and 38 of the *Antidotarius*. There is, though, evidence that once again Symon was thinking about the material as he translated it, and adding points of clarification where necessary. When describing the location of the Ascension, the *Antidotarius* has 'Et postremo ascendisti in montem. et eleuatis

manibus …',[113] while *The Fruyte* specifies on which mountain this event took place:

> And last of all thou ascended on the mount of Olyuete, and lyftynge vp thy hande ... [114]

It is also worth noting that in following the text of the *Antidotarius* for these chapters of *The Fruyte*, the disciples reappear in the *The Fruyte* because they are necessary for the narrative. This leads to the reference in chapter 29 to Jesus talking 'specyally with Peter that had denyed the',[115] even though the denial itself was not included earlier in the narrative (and indeed is not present in the *Antidotarius*, either).

However, the final chapter of *The Fruyte*, chapter 31 on Pentecost, takes an entirely different direction from the corresponding chapter in the *Antidotarius*, chapter 39, which in the Latin text is not the end of the work. Symon's account follows that of Acts 1, with the appearance of the Spirit 'in lykenes of tunges of fyre brennynge',[116] the preaching of the disciples in different languages, and the conversion of thousands by Peter. The Latin chapter, which for once is shorter than its English counterpart, focuses instead on the gift of the Spirit to the reader, and despite the reference in the chapter heading to 'die sancto penthecost',[117] it does not actually include the narrative detail which is present

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[113] *Antidotarius* sig. [B5]v, col. 2 lines 5-7.

[114] *The Fruyte* sig. E3, lines 28-29.

[115] *The Fruyte* sig. E3, lines 10-11.

[116] *The Fruyte* sig. E3v, lines 16-17.

[117] *Antidotarius* sig. [B5]v, col. 2 lines 17-18.

in *The Fruyte*. After this the *Antidotarius* contains a further chapter which looks at and for the second coming of Christ, and then two final chapters which recap the theme of the work and offer prayers. None of this material appears in *The Fruyte*, as the prayer at the end of chapter 31 weaves together both the event of Pentecost and the overall theme of this text:

> Benygne Jesu I praye the to sende me grace of the holy ghost, and his swete consolacyon in all my werkes with the blessed gyftes of hym, wherby I may lede here an acceptable lyfe vnto thy pleasure, that I may therby obteyne the ioye and glory that neuer shall haue ende. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue maria. Credo in deum.[118]

This analysis of the use of the *Antidotarius Animae* has shown that Erler's observation that '[t]he *Fruyte* is in the main a faithful English translation of the short version of the *Meditationes*, with the addition of some new material taken from Saint Bridget's *Revelations*' is generally accurate, although her assessment that Symon's omissions of material from the Latin text were 'not very substantial' would be appear to be somewhat less correct.[119] As has been shown, at times Symon's editing of the source material is quite significant, for example in the restructuring of the central part of the Passion narrative around the Seven Last Words in chapters 20 to 26. Even when the English text more closely follows the Latin in the arrangement and content of the chapters,

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[118] *The Fruyte* sig. [E3]v, line 26 - sig. [E4], line 1.

[119] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 230, and *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

Symon's interpretation of and reflections on particular incidents is sometimes different from that presented in the *Antidotarius*, both subtly and also more boldly in different places. This assured touch in editing and compiling may seem to be at odds with the approach sometimes taken in translating, when whole chapters are rendered verbatim from Latin into English, to the extent that some words are barely anglicised. However, when looked at more broadly, this may be regarded as an example of Symon letting the text speak for itself where it can, and only adding clarification, changing emphasis and interpretation, and inserting additional material, where this would be of benefit to the reader as part of the overall intention of the work.

That this is a text which was aimed at those who were already familiar with the Gospel story and the teachings of the Church in some degree of detail is clear. It may also be the case that the intended audience would have been familiar with the Bridgettine material which Symon added to the *Antidotarius* to make up *The Fruyte*, since he felt the need to indicate the *Revelations* passages in the margins but not to attribute his main source. Whether the *Antidotarius* itself was known by a contemporary lay readership is unknown, but while this is possible it is less likely than a lay familiarity with the *Revelations*. Symon therefore appears to have had both free rein and a definite purpose in translating and adapting the *Antidotarius Animae* as *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, and it cannot be denied that what he produced is a structurally coherent text, with a definite aim and

purpose, which is much more carefully constructed than may at first appear. This care will also be shown in the analysis of the use of Bridget's *Revelations* in *The Fruyte*, in the next section of this thesis.

2.3 The use of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*

As mentioned in section 1.2 of this thesis, notes in the margins of the opening chapters of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, particularly chapter 4, show that one of the sources of the text is the *Revelations* of Bridget of Sweden, and the absence of acknowledgement within the text of the *Antidotarius Animae* as the other source has led some scholars, notably Roger Ellis, to conclude that the Bridgettine material was therefore the main source of and inspiration for the English text.[120] As has been established, though, the credited source plays a much smaller, although not necessarily lesser, role in the creation of *The Fruyte*, although the marginal citations of the *Revelations* suggest that inclusion of this material may have been a factor which appealed to a contemporary audience. As in the analysis of the *Antidotarius* in the previous section, here the relevant chapters of *The Fruyte* will be examined to reveal Symon's approach to integrating passages from the Bridgettine material with his primary source.

As noted in section 2.1, the particular Latin version of the *Revelations* of Bridget of Sweden which was prevalent in England in the Middle Ages was in turn rendered into at least two separate complete English translations, each of which now survives in a unique manuscript in the British Library.[121] Examination of both Roger Ellis' edition of MS Cotton Claudius B i and the unedited MS Cotton

[120] See section 2.1 above, particularly pp. 99-101.

[121] See p. 99 above.

Julius F ii[122] shows that while the Bridgettine passages in *The Fruyte* have enough similarities to both extant translations to suggest a common Latin source, there are also enough differences to indicate that it is unlikely that Symon used either English version in compiling his text. Instead, comparison of *The Fruyte* with the relevant passages of the Latin text of the *Revelations* clearly shows that Symon created his own translation of the Bridgettine material, which was combined with his translation of the *Antidotarius* and his original material to form a coherent English text.

Even though much less material from this secondary source is used in *The Fruyte*, Symon's approach to translating the *Revelations* is the same as his approach to the *Antidotarius*: generally literal but occasionally more flexible. In her examination of MS BL Harley 494, a compilation produced in the early 1530s (and therefore slightly later than *The Fruyte*) for one or more female reader(s), Alexandra Barratt notes the 'accurate … but surprisingly literal rather than idiomatic' translation from Latin to English in one of the items in that manuscript. She then observes that

> [t]his pattern seems to be repeated elsewhere, and it is hard to think of any convincing explanation for it, unless the compiler was rather excessively conscientious or eager to help the reader with her Latin.[123]

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[122] BL MS Cotton Julius F ii was examined for this research on 20 January 2012.

[123] Alexandra Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and her Book: Fashioning Female Piety in Early Tudor England*, Turhout, Belgium: Brepols Press (2009), p. 84.

This assessment of an 'accurate … but surprisingly literal' translation can also be applied to Symon's predominant approach, but Barratt's second explanation of this method (that of helping the reader with Latin) is unlikely in the case of *The Fruyte* given the statement in the colophon that it was written for those who 'vnderstande no latyn'. Indeed, the way in which Symon tends to depart completely from this method on occasion to provide his own reflections indicates that while he may have been conscientious, he was hardly excessively so. There remains, therefore, the question of why Symon sometimes chose to anglicise rather than to translate particular words, given that this may make the text more rather than less difficult for the reader to understand. While not necessarily providing definitive answers, the analysis of the text so far suggests that this technique was deliberate rather than due to any lack of ability on Symon's part.

Material from Bridget's *Revelations* appears in chapters 4, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, and 28 of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, and in all cases involves the Virgin Mary. In chapter 4, which deals with the early life of the Virgin, the Annunciation, and the Nativity, the Bridgettine material is used in addition to, and to expand on, the Marian references in the corresponding chapters of the *Antidotarius*, as discussed in section 2.2 above. In subsequent chapters of *The Fruyte*, however, as the overall narrative of the text moves into the events of the Passion, material from the *Revelations* is used to involve the Virgin as a character in the story in a

way which is not necessarily found in the main source. Of course, it is not the case that Mary is completely absent from the comparable passages in the *Antidotarius*, but even in the chapters of *The Fruyte* covering the Commendation to John and the Deposition (for example), the Marian elements of the *Antidotarius* as used by Symon are reinforced by additions from the *Revelations*, often through use of affective language rather than by narrative description.

As well as being the first to include Bridgettine material, chapter 4 of *The Fruyte* is also the longest in the text to this point. About half of the chapter is derived from the *Revelations*, with the remainder being a combination of direct translation and Symon's own looser adaptation of material from the *Antidotarius*. When comparing the two sources, it is clear that the Bridgettine passages do not so much replace sections of the main source as contribute new material which enhances that found in the main source. As briefly discussed in section 2.1 above, Roger Ellis has identified the main *Revelations* material used in *The Fruyte* as being from Book I chapter 10,[124] which confirms the reference given in the first marginal reference in the text to 'Liber primo reuelationum beate Brigitte capitulum x'.[125] This reference is suffixed by the letter A, and some of the rest of the marginal references throughout the text are also labelled alphabetically from A to I (although with the omission of C). With the exception

[124] See p. 101 above.

[125] *The Fruyte* sig. B[1]v; for a brief consideration as to why the marginal notes are in Latin while the text is in English, see section 1.2 above, at pp. 38-39.

of A, B, and I, all letters occur more than once, with one instance of H coming after the solitary appearance of I.[126] A letter sometimes appears with 'Ibidem', rather than with a full reference, such as the last marginal note within chapter 16, 'Ibidem E'.[127] It might be thought that the sub-division of references to the source material could suggest either that Symon is indicating the use of a new section from the *Revelations*, or that he has omitted a passage from the source, but as will be seen this is not always the case.

It is also worth noting that the repeated instances of 'Ibidem' are not always strictly necessary. The three occurrences next to the first ten lines of sig. B2 (within chapter 4) give the impression that this passage, which starts at line 17 of sig. B[1]v (guided by the placing of the marginal note on the previous page), includes or uses four separate quotations from the *Revelations*. In fact, the passage is as continuous in the Latin as it is in Symon's English translation.[128] The next marginal note, 'Ibidem B' at lines 21 and 22 of the same page, does correctly indicate that this section is not contiguous to that previously

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[126] The first marginal note on sig. E[1] of *STC* 22559 reads 'Liber primo reuelatio beate Brigitte capitulum x G', whereas the corresponding notes in the other three de Worde editions and the Redman edition all have 'H'. H appears in the marginal note but one before this in all editions, and the note two after it is the only occurrence of I (in all editions). It is unexplained as to why de Worde (or his copy-editor) should choose to correct this instance of H to G in *STC* 22559, when not only is it out of sequence but the absence of C earlier in the sequence remains uncorrected.

[127] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1]v.

[128] 'for anone at thy begynnynge … vnworthy handmayde to the mother of god', *The Fruyte* sig. B[1]v, line 17 - sig. B2, line 12; compare the Latin text in Carl-Gustaf Undhagen (ed), *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book I*, Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1977), chapter 10 verses 1-2 (lines 4-19, p. 263).

referenced (three sentences of the Latin have been omitted),[129] but what only close analysis of the text shows is that the lines of English text in between these two Bridgettine passages are taken from the *Antidotarius*, being a verbatim translation of the first half of chapter 9 of that source.[130]

The description of the Virgin's youth which occupies the first half of this chapter, and which Symon takes from the *Revelations*, is not Biblical in origin but was likely to have been familiar to readers from other sources such as the *Legenda Aurea* or Love's *Mirror*.[131] The corresponding passages in the *Antidotarius* reflect more on Mary's symbolic role than on her as a figure with whom the reader might identify, at least in terms of shared humanity. That Symon instead wishes the reader to aim for some identification with Mary can be seen in the placing of her in the context of a family, albeit one from which she seems keen to withdraw in preference for the service of God:

> … thou wylled no thynge but god, and as moche as thou myght thou withdrewest thy selfe fro the presence and speche of thy parentes and frendes ...[132]

By contrast, the material in the *Antidotarius* which Symon does not use tends to place Mary in the wider context of Christ's identity rather than her own, referring amongst other things to the image of the Root of Jesse ('de radice

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[129] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verses 3-4 (lines 19-23, pp. 263-64).

[130] 'I laude and honour the O Mary … example of good lyuing to al other', *The Fruyte* sig. B2, lines 13-22.

[131] See, for instance, Sargent, *The Mirror*, chapter 2 at pp. 19-22.

[132] *The Fruyte* sig. B2, lines 4-6.

iesse').[133]

However, in moving on from her childhood to the moments which of their very nature define Mary above all others, the Annunciation and the Nativity, Symon mostly prefers the *Antidotarius* to the *Revelations*, so that this section is in English a reworking (but not a verbatim translation) of parts of chapters 7 and 10 of the main source. The English text therefore omits the interchange between Mary and the Archangel (Luke 1) which Bridget in turn presents as part of the story as recounted to her by the Virgin. The earlier translator of the Middle English version in MS Claudius B i renders this exchange thus:

> Bot onone þare aperid ane aungell of God, as a man of soueraine bewte, noght clethed, and he said to me, '*Aue gracia plena et cetera*: haile, full of grace, þe lord is with þe. Þou art more blissed þan all oþir women.' When I had herd þis, I was astoned, merueilinge what þis suld betaken, or whi he profird to me swilke a salutacion. I wist wele and trowed miselfe vnworthi ani swilke, for I held me noȝt worthi ani gude; bot I wiste wele it was noȝt vnpossibill to God for to do what him liked. Þan saide þe aungell againe, 'Þat sall be born of þe is hali, and it sall be called þe son of God; and as it hase plesed him, so it sall be.' Neuirþeles I held me noȝt worthi, ne I asked noȝt of þe aungell, 'Whi or when sall it be?', bot I asked þe maner, 'How it sall be þat I, vnworthi, be þe modir of God, þe whilke fleshli knawes no man.' And þe aungell answerd to me as I saide, 'To God is noþinge vnpossibill, but what he will be

[133] *Antidotarius* sig. A3, col. 1 line 6 (chapter 9).

done, sall be done.'[134]

In contrast, the corresponding passage in *The Fruyte* is less dramatic and more reflective:

> And after whan by the aungelyke salutacyon thou were plenarely instructe that thou sholde conceyue a sone in thy wombe by the operacyon of the holy ghost, whose name sholde be Jesus, and sholde be called the sone of god, than therwith thou had a moost feruent desyre to be the mother of god, but all be it thou knewe thy selfe electe therto of god, yet thou were not therfore in mynde exalted by elacyon, but of the fulnes of profounde humilite consentynge vnto that so hygh a mystery, thou brake out wordes of this maner mekely saying. Loo here the handmayde of god, befal it to me aungel after thy worde.[135]

It may be, though, that for Symon's purposes this single sentence of consent is the main focus of Mary's role, which explains the use of the *Antidotarius* material at this point since this line is not found in the Bridgettine text. Yet in a sense the combination of the two sources results in a less contradictory portrait of the Virgin than the one found in the *Revelations* alone; after all, the devout young girl who is 'alone by thyselfe bothe day and nyght dredynge greatly leest thy mouth sholde speke, or eeres sholde here ony thynge agaynst the wyll of thy god'[136] does not seem to be the kind of person who would then presume to

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[134] Roger Ellis (ed), *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (EETS o.s. 291, 1987), p. 18 line 38 - p. 19 line 13, emphasis original.

[135] *The Fruyte* sig. B2v, lines 13-24.

[136] *The Fruyte* sig. B2v, lines 5-7; compare Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 6 (lines 32-33, p. 264).

disagree with an angel. The unquestioning acceptance of the fact of the conception of Jesus, irrespective of however much this may indeed have been Mary's 'moost feruent desyre',[137] is clearly more in line with the image of the Virgin which Symon wishes to present to the reader.

Having shown in the previous section that although his skill as a translator may occasionally leave something to be desired, Symon's ability as a compiler of a text is very evident, it is already becoming clear here that in combining two source texts as well as original material Symon demonstrates a competency and confidence in his material which is highly notable. This is particularly clear in the latter half of chapter 4 of *The Fruyte*, where he uses material from a part of the *Revelations* other than I.10. The description of the moment and location of the birth of Jesus is adapted from the *Antidotarius*, but for the description of the Virgin's feelings on this occasion Symon returns to the Bridgettine material. However, in the middle of the translation of a passage from I.10, and indeed in the middle of a sentence in English (although not correspondingly so in Latin), a small section is inserted from Book VI chapter 1:

> And after his byrthe good lady whan thou behelde his pulcrytude and beaute thy holy soule dystylled as a swete dewe for ioye, thynkynge thyselfe vnworthy to haue suche a sone, *for sothely he was so fayre and delectable, that who so euer behelde hym, he was comforted of ony sorowe that was in herte. Therfore many of*

[137] This itself is an insertion of a phrase from the *Revelations* into material adapted from the *Antidotarius*: 'feruentissimum affectum habui esse mater Dei'; Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 11 (lines 56-57, p. 265).

> *the iewes sayd. Go we to se the sone of Mary, that we may fynde therby consolacion. And all be it they knewe not that he was the sone of god, yet they receyued by the syght of hym greate and meruaylous consolacyon.* And good lady whan thou behelde and consydered the places in his fayre handes and prety fete where the sharpe nayles sholde perce through, as thou had herde by holy prophetes, thy blessed eyen were replete with teres of wepyng, and thy virgynall herte was as clouen asonder for sorowe.[138]

In fact, this section from VI.1 is strictly speaking two sections, since the greater parts of two sentences are omitted between 'Ipse enim est sic desiderabilis, quod, si habueris eum' and 'consolabatur a dolore cordis, quem habebat'.[139] This clearly demonstrates Symon's ability and confidence in his material to isolate the particular points which he wants to emphasise, even within different parts of his source material. It also suggests that he had a thorough knowledge of the *Revelations*, to be able to identify so relatively brief a passage from a section considerably removed within the whole text from his main source material.[140]

This change of location within the source is indicated in the marginal notes,

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[138] *The Fruyte* sig. B3, lines 10-25; emphasis added to indicate the material from VI.1 rather than from I.10.

[139] Birger Bergh (ed), *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book VI*, Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1991), chapter 1 verses 2 and 3 (p. 59; unlike Undhagen's edition of Book I, Birgh's edition does not have line numbers). The passage as translated by Symon in *The Fruyte* comprises these lines from verses 2 and 3, and the whole of verse 4.

[140] As Erler notes, this 'use of Bridgettine material suggests that at the very least [Symon] was in contact with Syon [Abbey]' (Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 231), although as she goes on to say it is not presently possible to determine the details of this connection or the level of interaction between Syon and Symon.

with ‘Ibidem’ at sig. B3 line 10 (referring back to the full reference at the top of the page, next to a passage which is not quoted here), ‘Liber vi reuelatio capitulum primo’ and ‘Ibidem’ at lines 13 and 16 respectively (the indication of a repeat once again confirming the omission of some material from the source text), and ‘Liber x reuelatio capitulum x’ at line 20. This latter, along with the reference at the head of the page, is one of the instances of a technically incorrect reference, since as previously noted there is no Book X in the *Revelations*.[141] However, as the source is so clearly Book I chapter 10 this error is not a significant one, although it is one which is consistent across all five editions of the text, thus suggesting that de Worde and Redman (or their respective copy-editors) were not as familiar with the *Revelations* as was Symon.

Although the point is not made evident by Symon, since there is no concluding prayer to this chapter to reiterate all or some of its content and themes, it is likely that this passage from VI.1 is included to highlight the difference in attitudes to Jesus shown by ‘the iewes’ first at his birth and later at his death. The Latin of I.10 describes Mary as both rejoicing in the loveliness of her newborn son and also crying over the future wounds which will be inflicted upon him:

> Cumque conspicerem et considararem pulchritudinem eius, anima mea quasi rorem pre gaudio stillabat, sciens me indignam ad talem filium. Quando vero considerabam loca

[141] See section 1.2 above, at p. 38.

> clauorum in manibus et pedibus, quos secundum prophetas crucifigendos audiui, tunc oculi mei replebantur lacrimis et cor meum quasi scindebatur pre tristicia.[142]

However, the insertion of the passage from VI.1 between these two sentences heightens the emotion for the reader, who was likely to have had at least some understanding that the people who at Jesus' birth found in him 'greate and meruaylous consolacyon' are those who are later presented as causing his 'fayre hands and prety fete' to be pierced with 'sharpe nayles'. Indeed, the affective nature of the description is enhanced further by Symon, since the hands and the feet only are mentioned in the Latin; the accompanying adjectives are an English addition.

Chapter 4 of *The Fruyte* then returns to the *Antidotarius* to conclude, and material from the *Revelations* next occurs in the English text in chapter 16. About two-thirds of this chapter is a translation of approximately three-quarters of the second half of chapter 24 of the *Antidotarius*, the first half having been used in chapter 15 of *The Fruyte*, with the Bridgettine material replacing the main source in the middle of the section at the point where the narrative reaches the occasion of Jesus' scourging. Although the *Antidotarius* does describe this event, once again the account given in the *Revelations* is more affective, since it comes from the point of view of the Virgin. Since Symon also adds his own material to the Bridgettine source, the chapter is longer in English than the

[142] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 13 (lines 68-72, p. 266).

relevant section of the Latin of the *Antidotarius*, the additional material being in the form of descriptive imagery rather than narrative action.

In the previous section, Symon's differing approaches to combining material from his two sources were compared to patchwork and tapestry, although the examples given there were of separate chapters.[143] In chapter 16 of *The Fruyte*, however, the presence of Symon's original material interspersed between phrases of the Bridgettine translation shows that Symon was capable of combining these methods of translation within a chapter. The sections from the *Antidotarius* which begin and end chapter 16 are verbatim translations, taken as blocks of text and joined to the surrounding material in a patchwork form. The middle section of the chapter, though, ('and made the personally to put of thy clothes … appered infuded with thy blode'),[144] is much more of a tapestry, with phrases taken from the *Revelations* and woven together with Symon's own writing to form whole sentences. There is even a phrase from the *Antidotarius* incorporated here, as 'a vertice capitis vsquam ad plantam pedis'[145] is added to the Bridgettine 'Cumque filius meus totus sanguinolentus, totus sic laceratus stabat, ut in eo non inueniretur sanitas nec quid flagellaretur',[146] with a further addition from Symon, to give

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[143] See p. 140 above.

[144] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1], line 10 - sig. D[1]v, line 7.

[145] *Antidotarius* sig. A8v, col. 2 lines 5-6 (chapter 24).

[146] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 18 (lines 89-91, p. 267).

> And than good Jesu thou stode all tremblynge and quakynge for anguysshe and payne all blody and torne, so that fro the sole of the fote to the top of the heed in the was no hole place where thou myght suffre ony more betynge.[147]

It was noted in the discussion of differences between the editions of the text in section 1.2 that a missing word on a page-turn has been corrected in *STC* 22559 only, so that 'Than one moued in spyryte | whether they wolde slee the not Juged to dethe' in *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 becomes 'Than one moued in spiryte | asked whether they wolde slee the not iudged to deth'.[148] This error occurs in the sentence immediately following the passage quoted above, a sentence which is a verbatim translation from the *Revelations*:

> … tunc unus concitato in se spiritu quesiuit: 'Numquid interficietis eum sic iniudicatum?'[149]

Symon's tendency to translate verbatim is now in his favour, as it leads to the conclusion that this error was more likely to have been made by the printer than by the author, since omitting such a necessary and obvious word would be very unlike Symon, whose attention to detail is clear.

In a similar vein, what has been demonstrated of Symon's confidence in adding material to his sources would appear to contradict Roger Ellis' assertion in his

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[147] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1], lines 28-32.

[148] *The Fruyte STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558 sig. C3-C3v, compared to *STC* 22559 sig. D[1]-D[1]v; see section 1.2 above, pp. 45-46.

[149] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 18 (lines 91-92, p. 267); unlike in the English translation, where there is a sentence break, in the Latin the sentence continues after 'flagellaretur'.

examination of the use of the *Revelations* in *The Fruyte* that at this point (chapter 16) Symon uses material from Book IV chapter 70 to supplement that from I. 10.[150] Ellis' argument is that since there is no direct reference in I.10 to Christ being released from the pillar after his flogging, the fact that the English text does make mention of this being done ('And than whan thou were losed from the pyller')[151] must indicate that he has used the reference in IV.70 ('Et iam solutus Filius meus a columpna')[152] to make good the omission. While it is true that IV.70 echoes some of the material from this particular section of I.10, the more likely conclusion is that Symon added this phrase himself within his translation of the relevant passage from I.10, independently of the source material, since as Christ has been bound to the pillar he must logically be released from it before moving away on the next stage to the Crucifixion. On the other occasion when part of the *Revelations* other than I.10 is used (part of VI.1, discussed earlier), it is a passage longer than the seven words (in Latin; nine in English) which Ellis concludes that Symon has selected here. Ellis' interpretation of this passage is not entirely unreasonable, given his other presumptions about the source and construction of *The Fruyte*, but this analysis shows that original authorship of the phrase is more probable in this instance, notwithstanding the argument made earlier in this section for Symon's skill in selecting the passage from VI.1.

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[150] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 179.

[151] *The Fruyte* sig. D[1]v, line 2.

[152] Quoted by Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 279, but here sourced from Hans Aili (ed), *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book IV*, Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International (1992), chapter 70 verse 7 (p. 209).

Symon's willingness to interweave his sources is perhaps best - although not necessarily most clearly - seen in chapter 19 of *The Fruyte*. The two preceding chapters are verbatim translations from the *Antidotarius*, and while the last third of chapter 19 reverts to this pattern, the rest of the chapter is a combination of sentences or phrases taken variously from the *Antidotarius* and the *Revelations*, with loose adaptations of *Antidotarius* material and Symon's own writing added. The result is even more of a tapestry than the middle section of chapter 16, since at least one sentence contains material from both Latin sources as well as original phrases:

> And all be it thy sorowfull mother for multytude of people coude not se who smote the, yet she myght here clerely the sowne of the vyolent percucyons and strokes that they layde on the, and than thou were so faynt of body and so feble by meanes of so great passyons and effusyons of blode that thou fell down to the grounde with the heuy crosse on thy backe, and than they compelled another man to bere thy crosse to Caluary, and this they dyd for no compassyon of the, but for fere leest thou sholde haue dyed without great turmentes.[153]

Since the Virgin reappears, the start of this sentence is from the *Revelations*, although Symon adds the references to the 'multytude of people' and the 'vyolent percucyons' to the Latin original.[154] However, the Bridgettine account then moves directly to Calvary, as the reference to Simon of Cyrene carrying the

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[153] *The Fruyte* sig. D3, line 27 - sig. D3v, line 6.

[154] See Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 21 (lines 102-4, p. 267).

cross (although he is not actually named either in English or in the *Revelations*) is placed before this passage in I.10, and there are no references at all to Christ's encounters with either Veronica or the women of Jerusalem.

These three incidents, which do occur in the English chapter, are all taken from the *Antidotarius*, although the meeting with Veronica and the creation of the sudary is taken from an earlier point in the Latin text, in chapter 17, while the appearances of Simon of Cyrene and the weeping women are translated directly from chapter 27.[155] The way in which the source materials are brought together here gives this chapter something of the structure of the Stations of the Cross, although this is not necessarily immediately obvious on a first reading. The sequence of the Stations is not complete (only one of Christ's falls is described, for instance), but the intent behind the construction of these sentences becomes plain when considered closely.[156]

Symon returns to the *Revelations* when Calvary, 'the place of paynes' ('locum passionis'), is reached.[157] The description of the moment of Crucifixion is

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[155] Simon of Cyrene is named in the Latin of the *Antidotarius*, but Symon Appulby leaves him anonymous, seemingly in keeping with his focus on Christ rather than on the supporting characters except where absolutely necessary; a necessity which then applies in the case of Veronica.

[156] As will be touched on in the next section, the observance of the Stations as a devotional exercise seems to have been developing around the time at which Symon was writing, so it is unclear how likely the original readers would have been to have recognised this pattern and structure, especially when unprompted by accompanying woodcuts.

[157] *The Fruyte* sig. D3v, line 15; Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 21 (line 104, p. 267).

predominantly taken from this source, since the action of nailing Christ to the cross is not described in the *Antidotarius*. Once again, the Bridgettine text provides the more visually affective material, although in this instance it serves to reinforce rather than entirely replace the *Antidotarius*, as once Jesus is on the cross the main source provides the description of him stretched and suffering which concludes the English chapter. It is also worth noting, though, that in the longest section from the *Revelations* used in this chapter of *The Fruyte*, from 'And whan thou came to the place of paynes' to 'the senewes and vaynes of thy body were broken',[158] Symon inserts material adapted from the *Antidotarius*:

> … mekely thou layest downe on the crosse, spredyng out thyne armes and layenge forth thy legges in length, thou offred there thy precyous wounded body on the harde crosse in sacrifyce to god thy father as a moost meke lambe for our synnes, ...[159]

This interpolation into the midst of an otherwise Bridgettine passage suggests that Symon consciously brought his text into line with at least some of the prevailing orthodoxy of the time regarding the manner of the Crucifixion. As Ellis observes, the description of Christ being nailed to a cross which was already upright was anachronistic even at the time that Bridget recorded her experience,[160] so even though the process is not explicitly depicted in this way in the *Revelations*, Symon uses material from the *Antidotarius* to augment the existing description and make it clear that Christ was lying down as the nails

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[158] *The Fruyte* sig. D3v, line 14 - sig [D4], line 4.

[159] *The Fruyte* sig. D3v, lines 24-28.

[160] See Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 180.

were driven through his hands and feet. This is reinforced at the end of the chapter by the phrase 'whan thy crosse was reysed and let fall in to the morteys',[161] which is part of the section translated verbatim from the *Antidotarius*, but the earlier reference leaves the reader in no doubt as to the scene being presented to their mind's eye.

Yet at the same time that one orthodoxy regarding the Crucifixion is reinforced, another is ignored.[162] The woodcuts of the Crucifixion in all editions of the text, including those on the front covers as well as those at chapter 19, show three nails being used - one in each hand and one through the crossed feet. There is sometimes some difference in the placing of the feet (the cut used on the covers of both *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558, for instance, shows the left foot over the right, while the other cuts show the opposite placement), but all the visual images agree on the total number of nails used. This depiction, furthermore, is one which had been a recognised part of orthodox Church teaching and Western Christian art since the thirteenth century.[163] The Bridgettine account, however, which is here faithfully translated by Symon, clearly describes four nails being used, one for each hand and two for the feet. Notwithstanding the

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[161] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4], lines 18-19.

[162] A longer consideration of this issue, including examination of the woodcuts of the Crucifixion, was presented as a paper entitled 'Three Nails or Four? Depictions of the Crucifixion in the Early Sixteenth-century English devotional text *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*' at a study day on 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Codex: Text and Image' hosted by the Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies at King's College London on 10 November 2011.

[163] See, for instance, Beatrice White, 'Whale-hunting, The Barnacle Goose, and the Date of the "Ancrene Riwle". Three Notes on Old and Middle English', *MLR* 40 (1945), 205-7, particularly pp. 206-7.

description of the feet being one on top of the other, as is also the case in the visual depictions, the verbal imagery is clear:

> Deinde dexterum pedem crucifixerunt et super hunc sinistrum duobus clauis ita, …[164]
>
> … they crucyfyed fyrst thy ryght fote, and vpon the same thy lefte fote with two nayles, ...[165]

The reasons why Symon should correct his source material in one respect but not in another within the space of a few lines are difficult to analyse, but the details which have emerged through examination of this part of the text continue to show that the use made of the source material is nonetheless more skilled than may at first appear.

Bridgettine material next appears in *The Fruyte* in chapters 20, 22, 24, and 26, but since these chapters all form part of the sequence covering the Seven Last Words from the Cross they will be considered in detail in the next section of this thesis. The final occurrence of material from the *Revelations*, therefore, is in chapter 28, which describes the Deposition. As mentioned in section 2.2 above, this chapter does not contain any material at all from the *Antidotarius*, even though there is a chapter in that source which deals with Christ's burial, and as a result this is the only chapter in the English text to contain material from the secondary source but not the primary one. The Bridgettine passage, which is

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[164] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 23 (lines 114-15, p. 268).

[165] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4], lines 2-3. Comparisons with the surviving Middle English translations of the *Revelations* show that MS Claudius B i has the right foot above the left, with two nails (Ellis, *Liber Celestis*, p. 20 lines 34-35), while MS Julius F ii has the left on top of the right, with two nails (f. 12r lines 7-8).

again from I.10, is here supplemented by Symon's own writing, with the result that what is continuous in Latin becomes broken up in English, although of course this is apparent only when comparing the two texts:

> Deinde depositus est de cruce. Quem ego recepi in genu meum quasi leprosum et totum liuidum. Nam oculi eius erant mortui et sanguine pleni, os frigidum quasi nix, barba quasi restis, facies contracta. Manus quoque sic diriguerant, quod non possent deponi nisi circa umbilicum. Sicut stetit in cruce, sic habui eum in genu quasi hominem contractum in omnibus membris.
>
> Postea posuerunt eum in linteo mundo, et ego cum linteo meo extersi vulnera et membra eius et clausi oculos et os eius, que in morte fuerant aperta.[166]

> Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst for that thou were taken downe of the crosse by the besy labour of thy frendes Joseph and Nychodeme, and thy sorowfull mother receyued the on her lappe with full bytter wepynge, where thou laye as a man all to drawen and torne in euery membre so piteously disfygured that thou were more lyke a lepre than a clene man, and thy deed eyen were all blody, thy mouth colde as yse, thyne armes were so styffe, colde, and spredde abrode as thou henge on the crosse, that thy mother and frendes aforesayd had greate besynes to brynge them downe to thy bely, and thy wofull mother wyped and dryed thy blody woundes with a cloth, and closed thy mouth and eyen whiche were open by deth, and this done thy wounded deifyed body was lapped in a clene sudary,

[166] Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verses 34-36 (lines 172-80, pp. 270-71).

> and dressed with odoramentes, and layde and buryed in the lowe place of the herte of the erth. Pater noster. Aue maria.[167]

It can be seen that while Symon elides some phrases and slightly rearranges the order of others, the only definite omission from the Latin passage is the reference to Christ's beard being like a rope or a cord ('barba quasi restis'). This omission also occurs in the Middle English translation of the *Revelations* in MS Claudius B i (where the text reads 'his mouthe was cold as snowe, his face drawen togidir and contractid'),[168] while the phrase is translated in full in the version in MS Julius F ii, where it is given as 'his berd as a wythy'.[169] In contrast, though, the two Middle English manuscripts agree with each other and disagree with *The Fruyte* in the translation of 'os frigidum quasi nix'. In this case, both of the earlier translations follow the Latin in describing Christ's mouth as being as 'cold as snow/e', while Symon instead uses 'colde as yse'. This particular construction is more familiar to modern readers than the version found in the fifteenth-century manuscripts, and may similarly have been so to the original sixteenth-century readers of the printed text, thus providing an example of the change and development of English idiom over the course of time.

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[167] *The Fruyte* sig. E2v, lines 1-17. The first marginal note (of two) indicating the presence of Bridgettine material occurs at line 8, next to the words 'deed eyen', even though the passage being translated actually starts at line 2, 'taken downe of the crosse'.

[168] Ellis, *Liber Celestis*, p. 22 lines 24-25.

[169] MS Julius F ii, f. 12v line 24.

Beyond the grammatical detail of this chapter, it is worth noting that the reference to 'Joseph and Nychodeme' as those who actually remove Jesus' body from the cross is unique to Symon, since such a reference occurs in neither of his sources. Although tending throughout the text to omit supporting characters in order to focus on Christ, this is one instance where Symon has to include them, since neither Christ nor Mary (albeit for different reasons) are in a position to act unaided. Yet having performed their roles they then fade away again, as 'the lowe place of the herte of the erth' in which Jesus is laid is not here identified as the tomb belonging to Joseph of Arimathea (and in this respect Symon follows the accounts in Mark 15, Luke 23, and John 19, rather than that in Matthew 27). This chapter is also the last place in the text where the Virgin appears in person; she is mentioned in chapter 29 in reference to Christ's appearances after the Resurrection ('apperynge to thy blessed mother, as we mekely may ymagyn', which is itself an interpolation by Symon into material translated from the *Antidotarius*),[170] but the need for the particularly affective descriptions associated with Mary's role in Jesus' life ends with his death. Once the narrative has reached that point, the material from Bridget's *Revelations* has served its purpose, adding a layer to the material from the *Antidotarius* and providing additional inspiration for Symon's own composition.

Although some of the instances of *Revelations* material used in *The Fruyte* have

[170] *The Fruyte* sig. E2v, lines 26-28.

yet to be discussed,[171] it is already possible to draw conclusions about the way in which this source is integrated into the English text. Symon's basic approach to translation is the same for the Bridgettine text as for the *Antidotarius*: in general, a literal rendering of the Latin into English, with occasional words being only anglicised rather than fully translated. However, there are variations to the way in which passages chosen for translation are then incorporated into the overall structure. Chapter 4, for instance, begins with relatively lengthy continuous passages from the *Revelations* which are placed, for the most part intact, alongside a section from the *Antidotarius* which has been similarly treated. Elsewhere in the same chapter, however, passages which are continuous in Latin are interwoven in English with material which has been adapted from the main source rather than translated. This latter pattern becomes more frequent in later chapters of *The Fruyte*, so that blocks of text in Latin are taken apart and scattered throughout the comparable sections in English. A passage from another location within the *Revelations*, from VI.1 rather than I.10, is even woven into the main material at one point in chapter 4, although this is a singular instance.

Revelations I.10 is longer than any of the individual chapters in the *Antidotarius*, so an overall comparison of it to them may not be applicable, but in looking at I. 10 as a whole it can be seen that Symon omits much more material from this

[171] See the next section, on the Seven Last Words.

source than he does (comparatively speaking) from the *Antidotarius*. The passages selected from the Bridgettine text are clearly intended to reinforce or to supplement the main source, rather than to be an alternative source which is treated equally. The focus in the Bridgettine passages as used in *The Fruyte* is on the Virgin's experience and feelings, primarily at specific points of her son's life, Passion, and death, thus providing affective descriptions which may be lacking in the primary source, and which serve to engage the reader on an emotional level. In this respect, therefore, Roger Ellis' observation that Symon uses the Bridgettine material's 'narrative material [as] the starting point for a series of fervent prayers' is in a sense doubly incorrect.[172] Not only are the *Revelations* the secondary source for *The Fruyte*, rather than the primary one, but the basic narrative content of the English text is predominantly from the *Antidotarius*, while the Bridgettine elements are those which enhance the narrative and heighten the reader's experience of the text as a whole. This desire to heighten and enhance his sources is perhaps best demonstrated in chapters 20 to 26, which present some of the best examples of Symon's original writing and purpose, and to which this study now turns.

[172] Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam"', p. 179.

2.4 Chapters 20-26: The Seven Last Words from the Cross[173]

By way of offering a specific demonstration of Symon's skill as a compiler, editor and author, chapters 20 to 26 of *The Fruyte* may be taken as a case study. These seven chapters deal, individually, with Christ's Seven Last Words from the Cross, and examination of their construction and content shows how Symon has adapted his source material for his own purposes. More than anything else in the text, the way in which this section of the Passion narrative is presented marks out *The Fruyte* as more than merely a translation of a Latin text into English to allow it to be read by a wider audience. The previous two sections of this chapter have shown how Symon translated and adapted his primary and secondary sources, but his treatment of the subject matter of this part of the text elevates it above the status of a unremarkable rendering from one language to another to aid comprehension. The confidence in the reading audience inherent in this portion of the text has to be a contributory factor to *The Fruyte*'s contemporary popularity, and offers significant possibilities for further study now.

Unlike the Stations of the Cross, a pattern of devotions which was only beginning to emerge around the time at which Symon was writing[174] (and

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[173] Elements of this section were presented in a paper entitled '"Of the wordes of Jesu": Meditations on the Seven Last Words in Symon Appulby's *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*' at a study day in memory of the late Colin Gunton, hosted by the Research Institute in Systematic Theology at King's College London on 19 September 2012.

[174] See Toddy Hoare, *The Stations of the Cross*, Cambridge: Grove Books (2007), particularly pp. 6-7.

which, as noted in the previous section, can be discerned in chapter 19 of *The Fruyte*), prayers and meditations on and structured around the Seven Last Words were a well-established element of religious practice by the early sixteenth century. However, despite being present in other Lives of Christ such as Love's *Mirror*, this sequence as a whole is not found in the *Antidotarius*, although some of the incidents which it includes are present in that text. Timothy Radcliffe gives a very brief outline history in the Foreword to his own book of reflections on these passages:

> We can trace back the devotion to the Seven Last Words of Jesus on the Cross to the twelfth century. Various authors had woven one harmonious account of Jesus' life out of the four Gospels. This brought together his last words on the cross, seven phrases, which became a topic of meditation. These last words were commented on by St Bonaventure and popularized by the Franciscans.[175]

Later in the same paragraph Radcliffe further observes that the Seven Last Words were 'immensely important in late medieval piety', and Duffy similarly notes that 'prayers and meditations on [the Words] multiplied' in this period, although he focuses his discussion of this subject on the treatment found in the *Fifteen Oes of St Bridget*, in which the 'reflection on the Words from the Cross [is] easy to miss because of the fifteenfold, rather than sevenfold, arrangement of the prayers'.[176] Given both the popularity of this prayer sequence and the Bridgettine connection, it is both possible and likely that Symon had read a

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[175] Timothy Radcliffe OP, *Seven Last Words*, London: Continuum (2004), p. 1.

[176] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 248, 250.

version of the *Fifteen Oes*, or at the very least was aware of similar treatments of this material, but analysis of his presentation of this sequence shows that it is unlikely that he used that particular text directly as a source when compiling and constructing this section of *The Fruyte.*

Although of differing lengths (the shortest, chapter 21, covers 12 lines while the longest, chapter 26, runs to two pages), these chapters all have the same basic structure: an introduction addressing Christ, which leads into a description of the particular incident or aspect of the Passion narrative under consideration, including the relevant words of Christ, and concluding with a prayer which continues the theme or focus of the specific Word for that chapter. All except chapter 21 also have some reflective or interpretative commentary, which in some cases is very brief. All seven chapters end with the near-standard instruction to the reader to recite the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, and chapters 22 to 26 also have 'Amen' before this instruction. These chapters, then, which provide something of an interlude between the affective verbal imagery describing the process and moment of Crucifixion in chapter 19 and that depicting Christ's dead body on the cross in chapter 27, are very clearly and carefully constructed - yet it is only analysis of the source material which reveals that the construction and pattern is (for the most part) original to Symon, and not taken from the original text(s).

Perhaps the most subtle element of Symon's original writing in this section, one which becomes evident only on repeated close reading of these chapters, is the repetition of and expansion on at least one word from within each saying, thus creating the meditation for each chapter on how to apply some aspect of that particular saying to the reader's own life. Since not all of the Seven Words are present in Symon's sources, and therefore much of the content of these chapters as well as the overall structure is original to the English version, the effect is therefore to place Christ's Words within the framework of Symon's words, holding them before the reader in a form of textual monstrance.[177] However, there is also a level of involvement which goes beyond this image; the reader may simply sit or kneel in worshipful adoration of these words, but is also prompted to reach out and engage with them in a way which is not possible with the Sacrament, the usual contents of a monstrance.[178]

The material in the *Antidotarius* which is comparable to this sequence is found in six chapters in the middle of the Latin text (chapters 29 to 34), so it is immediately obvious that if nothing else Symon divided at least one of the six Latin chapters to form his seven English ones. Further examination shows that while material from each of these chapters is used in *The Fruyte*, the order in which it appears is not the same, and more content of these chapters of the

[177] An image suggested by Professor Ben Quash, which is gratefully received.

[178] See also the observations in section 2.2 above (p. 135) regarding the frequency of receiving Communion.

Antidotarius is omitted than is included, not least because not all of the Words appear in that text. In addition, it is clear that Symon's additions are likely to account for a considerable proportion of each chapter, since three of the four Words which are found in the *Antidotarius* appear within the space of ten lines in chapter 33 (these are the fourth, sixth and seventh in the sequence in *The Fruyte*, while the remaining Word, the sixth in the English sequence, is found in chapter 31). In comparison, and thus reflecting its status as secondary source, only two of the Words appear in *Revelations* I.10, although one of the other incidents is also described (albeit without the Virgin, via Bridget, recording Christ's words).

Chapter 20, 'Of the blasphemes of the iewes, and of the prayer of Jesu on the crosse for his enemyes',[179] is predominantly an adaptation of or improvisation on the theme of the first half of chapter 29 of the *Antidotarius*. This improvisation is necessary for Symon's purpose since although the Latin includes some of the mockery of the bystanders as given in Matthew 27 and Mark 15, and partly in Luke 23,[180] it does not include Christ's words at Luke 23.34, 'Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do'.[181] Indeed,

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[179] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4], lines 25-26.

[180] Although even here Symon changes the original; the English has 'yf thou be Chryst kynge of Israell, come downe of the crosse that we may byleue on the' (*The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, lines 3-5), while in Latin the crowd focuses instead on the image of Christ destroying the temple and rebuilding it in three days: 'Tua christi destruit templum domini et in triduo reedificat illud' (*Antidotarius* sig. B2v, col. 1 lines 20-22). Both of these taunts occur in Matthew and Mark's accounts, while only the former appears in Luke.

[181] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, lines 9-10.

although this chapter includes a sentence from the Bridgettine source to reinforce the taunts made by the onlooking crowd (which is directly translated from *Revelations* I.10, and is inserted into Symon's adaptation of the material from the main source), Christ's words do not appear in this part of the *Revelations* either. Yet although the prayer at the end of the chapter reflects Christ's own prayer and focuses on the need to forgive and be forgiven, so as to be in a right relationship with others as well as with God, the word which is repeated most often is 'enemies'.[182] On one level, this serves to connect the reader to Christ, since references to 'his' or 'thy' enemies are followed by a prayer for the grace to love one's own enemies. On another level, though, this provides something on which Jesus' mercy may act, thus leading to the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 21, 'Of the mercy of our lorde Jesu shewed to the thefe hangynge at his ryght syde',[183] is very similar to chapter 20 in its construction, as Symon uses the theme (but again not the exact words) of more of chapter 29 of the *Antidotarius*, although here he does not include any Bridgettine material. Once more, while the text of the *Antidotarius* includes some of the incident being portrayed, Symon uses only part of this and embellishes it to suit his purpose. As a result, while the Latin presents the reader with the scorn of one thief and

[182] 'Forgyue' appears three times, including in the Word itself, while 'enemyes' occurs five times, including in the chapter heading.

[183] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, lines 23-24.

the penitence of the other, the English gives instead only the words of the penitent thief, but also, crucially, Christ's words of forgiveness and reassurance of salvation: 'Truly I saye to the this day thou shalt be with me in paradyse'.[184] 'Mercy', or a variation of it, appears four times in this chapter, with 'paradyse' occurring thrice. The promise of 'the blysse of paradyse',[185] thus extended to the reader as well as to the penitent thief, provides the assurance that with forgiveness comes the promise of a close relationship with God, through his mercy and grace.

It is worth noting, given the difference in interpretation which can result from even a very small change in punctuation, especially where Biblical texts are concerned,[186] that a comma appears in the sentence spoken by Christ to the thief only in the last of the five editions of *The Fruyte*, and even there it is not placed in a way which could suggest that there is (or could be) a significant delay in the time between Jesus making this assurance to the penitent thief and the thief joining him in heaven.[187] The lack of any mention of or reference to the idea of

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[184] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, line 31 - sig. [D5], line 1.

[185] *The Fruyte* sig. [D4]v, line 31.

[186] See, for instance, Angela Russell Christman's observation at the end of her chapter on 'The Early Church', in James J Buckley, Frederick Christian Bauerschmidt & Trent Pomplun (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Catholicism*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell (paperback edition, 2011), pp. 36-48, at pp. 47-8. In noting that the placing of a comma after 'this day' rather than before it can 'dramatically alter the meaning of Jesus' words', Christman herself quotes Lynne Truss' observation that the earlier placement of the comma 'lightly skips over the whole unpleasant business of Purgatory': Lynne Truss, *Eats, Shoots and Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation!*, London: Profile Books (2003), p. 74. Although made light-heartedly by Truss, the point is nonetheless an important one.

[187] So 'Truly I say to the, this day thou shalte be with me in paradyse', *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22560) sig. E2v, line 31 - sig. E3, line 1.

Purgatory, either here or in the prayer which concludes this chapter, combined with the absence of any mention of or reference to the practice of indulgences throughout the text (image-related or otherwise), is further indication that the picture painted of what was associated with 'popular religion' in the decades before the Reformation is not as black and white as is sometimes suggested. *The Fruyte* is undoubtedly an orthodox Catholic text, yet it does not always display what are often thought to be defining characteristics of such orthodoxy. Duffy's statements that '[t]he pardon concerned [in the granting of an indulgence] was remission not of sin, but merely of the penance or temporal punishment believed to be still due to God after a sin had been repented, confessed, and forgiven', and therefore that 'indulgences in the late Middle Ages were almost universally believed to be applicable to souls in Purgatory, to shorten their torments',[188] would appear to be somewhat at odds with the prayer given for the reader of *The Fruyte* to say at the end of chapter 21, which makes no mention either of earthly penance (as opposed to repentance) or of torment after death:

> Mercyfull Jesu I praye the to graunte me so bytter contricyon for my synnes before I dye, wherby I may obteyn of them full remyssyon, and also the blysse of paradyse with the worshypfull thefe that henge at thy ryght syde. Pater noster. Aue maria.[189]

That *The Fruyte* does not depart entirely from what may be expected of late

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[188] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 288.

[189] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5], lines 1-5.

medieval devotional writings, though, can be seen in chapter 22, 'Of the wordes of Jesu, commendynge his mother to saynt Johan'.[190] Here, Symon's method of translation is different from that of the previous two chapters; slightly less than half of chapter 30 of the *Antidotarius* is translated verbatim, to which is then added a similar word-for-word rendition of a long sentence from I.10 of the *Revelations*, before original material concludes the chapter. The Bridgettine material might be expected, since the Virgin reappears in this chapter, but in fact the section here used describes Christ's feelings as he views his mother, rather than the reverse. A description of Mary's state of mind instead occurs in the passage in this chapter which is translated from the *Antidotarius*:

> … thy sorowfull mother standynge besyde the, turmented in soule with inestymable dolours and anguysshes for motherly compassyon that she had of the, whan she behelde the her onely sone so pyteously extent on the crosse without offence ...[191]

Although the translated material from both sources sets the scene, the words of Christ themselves are once again provided by Symon: 'Woman beholde thy sone'.[192] However, the need for this addition to be authorial is not because the incident is absent from the sources; far from it, since the commendation is described in both the *Antidotarius* and in *Revelations* I.10 (indeed, in the Bridgettine source the commendation occurs several paragraphs before the

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[190] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5], lines 6-7.

[191] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5], lines 10-14; compare *Antidotarius* sig. B3, col. 1 lines 11-17.

[192] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, line 2.

sentence which Symon translates as part of this chapter). The important point, though, is that only in *The Fruyte* do Christ's words appear as direct speech. What Symon does not include, however, and what does appear in the *Antidotarius* (although still not as direct speech), is the reciprocal commendation as found in John 19.27.[193] One conclusion for this editorial decision is that to include this part of the Word would lessen the impact of the concluding prayer which immediately follows Christ's words, asking for the reader similarly to be commended to the protection of Mary when at the point of death, so that

> she may defende me fro the malyce and power of feendes, that by theyr wycked sotylte they brynge me not in to desperacyon, elacyon, ne from my fayth, but defended by her, thy passyon helpynge I may obteyn the ioye eternall.[194]

Since it is the act which is here repeated, rather than words from within the phrase spoken by Christ, the reader becomes an active participant (in praying to be commended to Mary) instead of being a passive observer of the reciprocal commendation of John to the Virgin. Christ's words are therefore not only teachings to be applied to the reader's life, but are also a way of drawing the reader into the events of Christ's life.

Chapter 23, 'Of the thurste of Jesu on the crosse, and of his bytter drynke',[195] is

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[193] It is worth noting that the Latin text of the *Revelations* similarly has only a one-way commendation, 'et me commendabat ei' (Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, chapter 10 verse 23, line 121, p. 268), while the Middle English translation in MS Claudius B i expands this, with the Virgin telling Bridget that 'mi son … beheld me … and me to Jon mi sistir son, and him to me, he commended' (Ellis, *Liber Celestis*, p. 21, lines 5-7).

[194] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, lines 4-9.

[195] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, lines 10-11.

where the originality of Symon's structure and his willingness to depart from the framework of his main source become clearest - although paradoxically it is also where, for the first time, the particular Word used in the English chapter is taken from the Latin. The more usual pattern of the Seven Last Words has 'I thurste'[196] as the antepenultimate in the sequence, which is how it appears in chapter 33 of the *Antidotarius*,[197] but Symon transposes the fourth and fifth Words, possibly so that the tension of his final three, building up to the moment of Christ's death, is not reduced by this particular incident. The chapter itself follows the same basic method as the previous one, although in this case no Bridgettine material is included; a literal translation from the *Antidotarius*, this time including Christ's words, is followed by original material which offers some interpretation, and then the concluding prayer.[198] Symon here shows his skill as both compiler and author, since not only does he continue the sentence after the point at which the Latin finishes, but he uses the imagery of thirst and drinking repeatedly as he moves from reference to the vinegar offered to Jesus to considering the delights to be offered in heaven; the whole chapter reads:

> I Laude and gloryfye the lorde Jesu Chryst for the thurste thou suffred on the crosse by reason of ofte and greate effusyons of blode and turmentes, but more ardently thou thursted our helth and saluacyon, sayenge thus. Sitio. I thurste. And thou the fonte of the water of lyfe tasted soure eysell medled with bytter

[196] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, line 16.

[197] This is also its position in the sequence in Love's *Mirror*, although Love switches the order of the Commendation and the Penitent Thief; see Sargent, *The Mirror*, chapter 44 at pp. 177-78.

[198] The *Antidotarius* material used here includes the repetition of words, showing that the conceit itself is not original to Symon, although he greatly develops it.

> gall, by a sponge therwith fulfylled and put to thy mouth, and that thou wolde suffre and taste for mannes trespace, tastynge the fruyte forboden hym by god. For this thurste and bytter drynke Jesu I praye the quenche in me the thurste of carnall concupyscence, and the hete of worldly delectacyon, and kendle my desyre so to vertue and to euery good werke, that after this lyfe I may be made dronke in heuen with the plentefulnesse of thy hous, and with the swete wyne of the vysyon of thy godhede. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[199]

Within the first sentence the image of Christ's thirst is presented as having both positive and negative connotations; positive in the metaphorical sense of passionately desiring humanity's salvation, and negative in the very real physical sense of being the result of the torture which Christ endured in order to gain that salvation. The fourth occurrence of 'thurste' (from a total of six) seems to contain both these aspects, since the prayer which begins with this phrase asks for a change in life to be achieved both in memory of the pain of Crucifixion and in gratitude for the impetus behind it. The 'thurste of carnall concupyscence' clearly returns to the negative, since this is something from which the reader is directed to ask to be delivered, but the way in which the image of thirst and drinking balances on the edge of right and wrong is continued to the end of the chapter with the request that the reader may 'be made dronke in heuen … with the swete wyne of the vysyon of thy godhede'.

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[199] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, lines 12-27; the Latin of the *Antidotarius* reaches the end of a sentence with 'aceto potatum', Symon's 'soure eysell': *Antidotarius* sig. [B4], col 1. lines 21-22.

The sheer physicality of this imagery is enhanced by the lesser repetition of 'taste' (which appears three times), which similarly encompasses Christ's literal tasting of the vinegar as well as the deeper sense that this act is directly related to that which caused it to be necessary.

This layered interpretation of the simple statement 'I thirst' is not unique to Symon, but the intensity of the imagery is certainly remarkable. Nicholas Love, in *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, deals with the Seven Last Words more briskly, presenting them all in a single chapter with much less interpretation and almost no meditation (which is in keeping with the tone of the text overall, tending towards the instructive rather than the reflective). In the case of this particular Word of Christ's, Love gives both 'gostely' and 'bodily' explanations, but without the extended imagery which is found in *The Fruyte:*

> For þouh it so be þat it may be vndirstande þat worde *I þriste*, gostely to þat entent, þat he þrestede þanne þe hele of soules. Neuerles also in soþenes he þristede bodily bycause of þe grete passing out of blode whereþorh he was alle drye wiþinforþ & þristy.[200]

Although the passages from both texts each offer two types of interpretation, the richness of the language in the chapter from *The Fruyte* suggests that Symon was writing with a high degree of confidence in the ability of his readers to process this material, and to make it part of their own devotions.

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[200] Sargent, *The Mirror*, p. 177, italics original.

In a slight digression, it is also worth noting that chapter 23 is the only place in the text other than the heading to chapter 1 where the word 'fruit' appears. At the beginning of the work it comes in the phrase which gives the text its title, describing the passion of Christ as 'the fruyte of redempcyon'.[201] In chapter 23, although it refers to the story of the Fall of Man (which has been commented upon much earlier in the text but not described), the attentive reader is surely expected to make the connection between that which caused 'mannes trespace, … the fruyte forboden hym by god',[202] and the suffering of Christ which resulted in that trespass being redeemed once and for all, and then to give thanks for the fruit of that redemption.

Chapter 23 is also one of two instances (the other being chapter 25, although in that case there are some differences) where the central phrase is given in Latin in the middle of the English text. That these two only are given could be because they are the shortest individual Words, and so their brevity ensures that they do not provide too much of a distraction to the non-Latin-literate reader. Indeed, chapter 25, 'Of the wordes of Jesu on the crosse, Consummatum est',[203] is very similar in construction (but not in effect) to chapter 23, although the material used from the *Antidotarius* (little as it is, since the chapter is so short)

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[201] No doubt derived (although without attribution) from Thomas Aquinas' prayer on the Eucharist; see further section 3.3 below, at pp. 266-67.

[202] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, lines 19-20.

[203] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 7-8.

comes from chapters 32 and 33 of that text. It is notable that unlike in chapter 23, here the Latin phrase is not translated but rather interpreted, with specific words used in this interpretation occurring also in the concluding prayer:

> … saydest these wordes Consummatum est, as though thou sayd. Euery thynge that hath be sayd of me by the mouthes of holy prophetes, or fygured of me in the lawe fro the tyme of my concepcion vnto the houre of my deth now is fulfylled in me. Lorde Jesu Chryst I praye the for the vertue of these holy wordes graunte me grace to fulfyll obedyently all thy wyll in obseruacyon of thy holy preceptes, and to ordre my lyfe after thy holy counseyles, wherby thy passyon helpyng I may obteyne eternall felicite. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[204]

While the Latin of the *Antidotarius* also provides some thoughts on the meaning behind 'Consummatum est', the English interpretation is not a translation of that passage, and is longer. It can also be seen that Symon is not above reusing phrases within his original writing, as the final clause of the prayer here repeats the construction 'thy passyon helpyng I may obteyne', which is also found in the prayer at the end of chapter 22.

Chapters 24 and 26 are similarly very alike in composition, and bear a relation to the composition of chapter 22 in comprising translations from both the *Antidotarius* and the *Revelations* as well as original material. The difference between these two chapters and chapter 22, however, is that the relevant Words appear in both Latin sources, rather than being added by Symon. Where they

[204] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 13-22.

differ from each other is that Jesus' cry of anguish in chapter 24 appears in the section taken from chapter 31 of the *Antidotarius*, whereas in chapter 26 his final words 'O father in to thy handes I betake my spiryte'[205] are part of a passage from the Bridgettine source. In both chapters the more affecting imagery, depicting Christ's physical suffering while on the cross, is taken from the *Revelations*, but in another example of Symon being unafraid to rearrange the order of his material, the passage used in chapter 24 is originally located between the two passages used in chapter 26.[206]

However much he reorders the material from the *Revelations*, though, Symon tends to maintain a consistent approach to its translation, which is overwhelmingly faithful and literal. His approach to the material from the *Antidotarius* is more flexible, as has been noted often in this examination, and as is demonstrated further in chapter 24, 'Of the great clamour of Jesu on the crosse. My god my god, why hast thou forsake me'.[207] While apparently confident enough in his readers' ability to understand a very few words of Latin, in chapters 23 and 25, Symon here refrains from testing them with

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[205] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1], lines 8-9.

[206] The passage in chapter 24 uses three Latin sentences in verses 28 and 29 of I.10 (Undhagen, *Revelaciones Book I*, lines 144-49 p. 269), while that in chapter 26 runs together the two sentences which make up verse 26, part of a phrase from verse 27, the second sentence of verse 30, and all of verses 31 and 32 except one clause (lines 133-38, 140, and 155-66, pp. 269-70). The rest of verse 30 (lines 150-55, pp. 269-70) is used in chapter 22. Unusually, the first marginal reference in chapter 26 of *The Fruyte* appears not at the start of the material taken from the *Revelations*, but eleven lines later. This error, which is surprising given the accuracy of the placement of the other marginal notes in the text, cannot be explained; although see also n. 167 on p. 175 in section 2.3 above for a similar instance in chapter 28.

[207] *The Fruyte* sig. [D5]v, lines 28-29.

Aramaic,[208] so does not include in his account of Jesus' cry of despair the phrase as given in chapter 31 of the *Antidotarius*: 'heloy heloy lama sabathani'.[209] In the source text, this is followed by a translation into Latin and then expounded upon and interpreted - an interpretation which Symon retains and translates into English:

> My god, my god, why hast thou forsake me, as though thou sayd, O father haue mynde why thou forsakest me in these bytter anguysshes, therfore it is that I shold make satysfaccyon to the for the synne of man, and that I myght turne away thy wrath fro them, and so reconcyled by me they may fynde grace before thy face. O my father and lorde I haue fulfylled it with bytter passyon and cruell deth, I haue made satisfaccyon to thy fatherly charite, with the brennynge desyre of brotherly charite, and whose maker I was fro the begynnynge, I am made now theyr redemptour and sauyour, and the kyngdome of heuen whiche I posseded fro the begynnynge by rightful herytage of a sone now I am become man in this late tyme, and all bespronge with myn owne blode, the man whose brother I am become

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[208] Although the phrase may not have been as unfamiliar to the original readers as might be presumed, since in addition to its presence in the Vulgate (which should have been familiar from being heard in church), it occurs (in a variety of spellings) in each of the Towneley, Chester, York, and N-Town play cycles; see respectively Martin Stevens & AC Cawley (eds), *The Towneley plays*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (EETS s.s. 13, 1994), Play 23 line 636, p. 306; RM Lumiansky & David Mills (eds), *The Chester mystery cycle*, London: Oxford University Press (EETS s.s. 3, 1974), Play XVIA line 346, p. 319; Richard Beadle (ed), *The York plays*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (EETS s.s. 23, 2009), Play 36 lines 213-15, p. 348; and Stephen Spector (ed), *The N-Town play volume 1*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (EETS s.s. 11, 1991), Play 32 line 183, p. 332.

[209] *Antidotarius* sig. B3, col. 2 lines 16-17. The spelling suggests that the writer of the Latin text - or at the very least the type-setter - may have been following the account in Mark's Gospel in this case; in the Vulgate, Matthew 27.46 has 'Heli heli' while Mark 15.34 has 'Heloi Heloi'.

> may possede the same kyngdome for euermore in herytage by brotherly ryght.[210]

The concluding prayer then combines elements of the prayer from the *Antidotarius* with Symon's own writing; this latter can be identified as those phrases which - as in previous chapters in this sequence - return to images or particular words used earlier in the chapter, and now relate them to the reader as well as to Christ's experience:

> … for the feruent anguysshe whiche thou suffred on the crosse to be there as a man forsaken of god, for that god sholde not forsake vs eternally, ... forsake me not meke Jesu at my last ende, ...[211]

Although Christ's weeping and sorrow is an image which is reused in the corresponding prayer in the *Antidotarius*, the plea not to be forsaken is absent from the source, being original to the English version.

The repetition in this prayer is, though, the last time that this motif appears in the sequence, since chapter 26 has no repeated words. Indeed, the amount of repetition proportionately decreases in chapters 24 and 25, although as demonstrated it still provides the necessary impact. There is also a combination of emotional force and practical theology at work, as the emphasis on 'forsake' in chapter 24 could lead to a sense of despair or abandonment were it not for the certainty of the last few words of the chapter, as the reader prays that Christ

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[210] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6], lines 14-29; see *Antidotarius* sig. B3, col. 2 line 17 - sig. B3v, col. 1 line 5.

[211] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6], line 30 - sig. [D6]v, line 4.

should 'saue my soule that thou hast bought so dere'.[212] Once again the reader is presented with the need to balance the recognition of the pain endured by Christ on the cross and the belief that without that pain there would be no salvation. This is further suggested in chapter 25, with the translation of 'consummatum' not as 'finished' but as 'fulfylled', which allows Symon to connect the moment of Christ's death with the foreseen purpose of his life. The reference in the concluding prayer to chapter 25 to 'the vertue of these holy wordes'[213] can be taken as applying just as much to the other Words of Jesus in the preceding chapters, as well as to Christ's teaching as a whole. It may be over-interpreting to suggest that this could also apply to the words within which Jesus' sayings are framed, but it is certain that this sequence shows that Symon saw words in their own right as being important in the act and task of instructing the worshipping Christian community in the way of following Christ.

If further proof were needed that Symon's method of composition was not one of rigidly following a set pattern, this can be found in chapter 26, 'Of the expiracyon of Jesu, and of the myracles befallynge in the tyme of his deth'.[214] This is clearly the concluding part of the Seven Last Words sequence because of its content, but in respect of its structure this chapter does not entirely appear to

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[212] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 5-6.

[213] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, line 18.

[214] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 23-24.

fit with those immediately preceding it (as noted, there are no repeated words). Although as observed earlier it is similar to chapter 24 in using material from both sources as well as original writing, it is markedly longer than any of the other chapters in the sequence. Furthermore, the final words of Christ are not necessarily the main focal point of this chapter; there is more narrative after the Word than in the other chapters, and the interpretation before the prayer is more concerned with Christ's actions at the moment of his death than with his words beforehand. As mentioned above this is the only instance in this sequence where the Word is taken from the *Revelations*, and indeed there is more Bridgettine material in this chapter than there is material from the *Antidotarius*. This is not to say that the Word (from Luke 23.46) does not appear in the main Latin source; it does, in chapter 33, where it is followed by the description of Christ dying which appears in one of the other Gospel accounts (John 19.30):

> Et iterum voce magna clamans dixisti Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum. et sic inclinato capite spiritum emisisti.[215]

However, although Symon appropriates the subsequent reflection in the *Antidotarius* on the four reasons why Jesus rested his head on his shoulder after death, the description of the very graphic process of dying is taken from the Bridgettine material, and the moment of death itself is original to the English. Unlike the account in the *Antidotarius* (and the Biblical passages on which that

[215] *Antidotarius* sig. [B4], col. 1 lines 27-31.

account is based), Symon's portrayal of Christ's death is a distinctly physical one. Instead of giving up his spirit, in English the reader is told that Jesus' 'hert brake in sonder',[216] and at this point the human and the divine aspects of Christ are separated for the first time since his conception:

> … thy holy soule departed from thy blessed body and with the godhede went downe to hell, and brekynge vp the gates of deth toke out all the holy soules whiche thou had thus redemed, settynge them in the felicite of paradyse. And in the daye of thyne Ascencion thou presented them (whome thou had bought with thy precyous dethe) to thy holy father of heuen.[217]

This anticipation of the happy ending to the story, as it were, does not appear in either of the source texts, and indeed given the way in which this chapter as a whole is constructed it can give the impression of being somewhat out of place. If this were the chapter's closing reflection leading into the prayer, there would probably not be this slight sense of dislocation, but instead the reader is brought back down to earth as the passing reference to the Ascension is followed by the longer meditation on Christ's reclining head. Yet there is still a sense of an overall purpose in the way in which this chapter is constructed. The passage used from the *Antidotarius* encompasses both chapters 33 and 34 of that text, although the material from chapter 34 is much briefer. Where the source recounts the reactions to Christ's death and then goes on to describe the

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[216] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1], lines 22-23.

[217] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1], lines 23-29.

piercing of his side with a spear and to reflect on that incident, imagery, and meaning, the English text stays with the events of the immediate moment of death before moving into the concluding prayer:

> And in thy deth good Jesu creatures hauynge no reason wayle for the, for why stones brake, monumentes opened, and many bodyes of holy men that were deed dyd ryse. The vayle of the temple did breke fro the hyghest parte vnto the grounde. And the sonne as sorowynge for the withdrewe his lyght that all the worlde was derke.[218]

The account of the piercing of Jesus' side and an associated theological reflection (albeit one with a different focus from that in the *Antidotarius*) is dealt with by Symon in chapter 27 of *The Fruyte*, after the sequence under consideration here. As a result, by creating his own structure for the English text he ensures that the focus of chapter 26, the final part of the sequence on Christ's words from the cross, is firmly on both the moment and the meaning of Jesus' death, as outlined in the concluding prayer, which itself has an air of finality about it:

> For this dolorous passyon and deth Jesu I beseche the to be mercyfull to me in the dredefull houre of my deth, and graunte me ryght mynde and speche to the last ende of my lyf, and that I may haue more mynde of the and of thy passyon than of the dolours and paynes that than I shall suffre, and commendyng my soule to thy blessed handes thou wylt receyue her, whome

[218] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1]v, lines 9-15. The last of these sentences is original, while the preceding two are from the *Antidotarius*. It may be worth noting that there is no prayer at the end of chapter 33 of the *Antidotarius*; it ends with the reasons for Christ leaning his head on his shoulder, and chapter 34 then begins with creatures wailing, stones breaking, and the like.

> thou hast bought to the glory that hath none ende. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.[219]

This case study of seven chapters from *The Fruyte* has aimed to present the different approaches taken by Symon Appulby to the use of his source materials, and to suggest some reasons why there is no single method of translation applied to them. It has been noted that while the material from the *Revelations* of Bridget of Sweden is translated word-for-word, the order in which the excerpts which are used appear in the English text is not always the same as that in which they appear in the Latin original. A similar willingness to re-organise the material from the *Antidotarius Animae* has also been noted, but within this specific portion of the text there is much less dedication to rendering this material verbatim from Latin to English. Indeed, in order to present a coherent structure in English, Symon variously translates, adapts, and omits passages from the *Antidotarius* depending on their content in Latin, and how this fits with his vision for this section of his text. These seven chapters of *The Fruyte* show not only that Symon had the confidence to depart from his source material, but also that he was unafraid to depart from what had gone before in terms of the focus of devotion.

In this chapter of this study of Symon Appulby and *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*,

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[219] *The Fruyte* sig. E[1]v, lines 17-24. The comma after 'her' and before 'whome', which makes the sense of the last few phrases somewhat convoluted, appears only in this edition, which is another unexplained choice by de Worde's type-setter. If a comma were to be inserted into this sentence, the better place would be after 'bought'.

Symon's methods of translation and compilation have been analysed and discussed, and considerations by other scholars of his approaches have also been assessed. The concluding evaluation is that Symon's main motivation was to produce a cohesive English text which provided a clear narrative and correct instruction in the basics of the Gospel for the lay reader, but which also encouraged the reader to use that instruction to grow and develop in the practice of the faith. To that end, material from the *Antidotarius Animae* and Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* was selected, adapted, and combined with original material in a text which maintained an orthodox stance but which also gave freedom of reflection. This is particularly noticeable in the use of verbal imagery, which allows the reader's imagination to create more or less detailed pictures of scenes depending on personal preference. The text could therefore be regarded as complete in and of itself, but the inclusion of woodcuts enhances the experience of the book and adds another layer to its significance for study. The use of illustration in *The Fruyte*, and the links and connections which can be made with other texts printed in the same period, will thus be examined and discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 3: 'I beholde now with the inwarde eyen of my mynde'[1]

Woodcuts and Other Imagery

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the text of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* was carefully constructed by Symon Appulby from his Latin sources to present to the reader a well-structured and coherent English text. However, the experience of reading the text as it was printed by both Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman involves images as much as it does words, although it is important to note that the images are not included without due regard for the words (for example, the ornamentation of some of the Bridgettine material is enhanced by the use of cuts in the relevant chapters of *The Fruyte*). As noted in section 1.3 above, in his survey of the use of woodcuts in early English printed books Edward Hodnett singles out *The Fruyte* for particular mention, considering de Worde's use of illustrations in his editions of the text as 'something new'.[2] This chapter will therefore examine the use of woodcuts in both de Worde's and Redman's editions of *The Fruyte*, considering the decisions made by the printers in placing illustrations in the text, and exploring the links and connections which can be made between *The Fruyte* and other texts of the period by means of particular woodcuts. Before that, though, it is worth considering the more general relationship between text and image in the

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[1] *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* sig. [D6]v, lines 10-11 (chapter 25).

[2] Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (revised edition 1973), p. 27; see also p. 51 above.

Middle Ages, particularly in the context of aids to devotion.

3.1 Medieval Approaches to Text and Image

One of the aspects of everyday medieval life which is much acknowledged by modern scholars is that images - whether paintings, illustrations, sculptures, or in other forms - were undoubtedly used to complement and enhance the devotional lives of medieval worshippers, both clergy and lay. Kathleen Kamerick, for example, observes that 'holy images often appear to be our most engaging point of entry into the medieval era, as they show us how people then viewed their own world, conceived of the supernatural, and perceived the bonds between the two.'[3] Jessica Brantley's article 'Vision, Image, Text' opens with the much pithier statement that '[l]ate medieval English reading depends on seeing',[4] while Richard Marks makes the observation in his detailed study of images in parish churches in the later medieval period that '[i]t was one thing for theologians to promote the concept of affective piety, but it was expounded and instilled in the mass of the laity through the visual medium of images'.[5]

Yet throughout the Middle Ages, there were varying positions within the Church as to the benefits and pitfalls of using images as an aid to devotion. The view of Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century that images could, in lieu of words, teach the faith to those who could not read was expanded upon

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[3] Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2002), p. 4.

[4] Jessica Brantley, 'Image, Vision, Text', in Paul Strohm (ed), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), pp. 315-34, at p. 315.

[5] Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in late medieval England*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing (2004), p. 237.

and developed by many other writers so that, as Kamerick points out, 'the concept of images as *libri laicorum* or "books of the laity", became a commonplace in the Middle Ages'.[6] In a fascinating article which approaches the concept from the view of the art historian, Lawrence Duggan explores the history of Gregory's dictum, both in terms of possible sources of inspiration and also considering how this idea became expanded and interpreted by many other writers over the following centuries.[7] Duggan's eventual conclusion is that Gregory was wrong to claim that pictures can be 'read' in the same way that written material is read, but his analysis also shows that this apparently simple idea went through a process of modification and adaptation over the centuries, as other scholars interpreted Gregory's meaning for their own times. An important point to note is that Gregory's original reference was to the *illiterati* (meaning those who could not read Latin, since the ability to do so was rather the mark of the educated - and therefore almost entirely ecclesiastical - class), which was later changed to *laici* when 'this old equation was in social reality beginning to break down with the gradual rise in lay literacy'.[8]

Elsewhere in this area, Susie Nash describes how medieval theologians were influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux, who had in turn drawn on St Augustine to develop a pattern of 'mystical contemplation, which advocated the move from

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[6] Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 21.

[7] Lawrence G Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', *Word & Image* 5.3 (1989), 227-51.

[8] Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', p. 231, citing the work of Michael Clancy and others (p. 233 n. 24).

meditation to speculation and then to contemplation',[9] although in neither case were physical images actually involved. Separately, Duggan observes that Augustine 'castigated those who tried to read pictures instead of the Scriptures' because of the likelihood of *mis*reading them,[10] and also points out that Bernard was a critic of the ostentation of much ecclesiastical art of his time because of the distraction and temptation it could pose in study and worship, although he 'never, significantly, … [denied] Gregory's premise that the illiterate can "read" religious art'.[11] Nash highlights Continental writers such as Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Heinrich Suso (c.1295-1366), and Geert de Groote (1340-84) as being amongst those who took Bernard's non-pictorial model and applied it to the use of images, which they saw as

> a necessary starting point in devotional meditation … which would then enable the viewer to move (preferably quickly) to a mental image evoked by the physical one, and ultimately to the abstract, imageless contemplation of the divinity.[12]

What may be most significant about this approach to images as devotional aids, at least in the context of this present discussion, is that the three thinkers mentioned by Nash were all developing their theories in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. As mentioned in section 1.3 above,[13] in England

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[9] Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2008), p. 271.

[10] Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', p. 229

[11] Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', pp. 232-33.

[12] Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 271.

[13] See pp. 55-56.

around this time Lollard writers were expressing disquiet with and disapproval of the long-established practice of using images in worship. Although the Lollard position that the use of images led to idolatry was an unorthodox one for the time, it was not entirely without precedent. Despite the widespread acceptance of Gregory's assessment of the efficacy of images as used in this way, elements of the Church authorities had always remained aware of the potential for idolatry, taking the view that the uneducated laity (and also some of the clergy, who were sometimes little better informed than those to whom they ministered) ran the risk of confusing the image with reality, and so directing towards the representation of the Godhead that which they should be directing to God himself.[14] Of course, this view was not a universal one, and those who credited the laity with more understanding on this and other issues included figures such as the fifteenth-century Bishop Reginald Pecock.[15]

Pecock was one of those who defended the use of images in worship and the reverence accorded to them, a defence which often referred to the concepts developed by Thomas Aquinas (amongst others) of *latria* and *dulia*, distinguishing between the worship and adoration due to God and only to God (and which by association could also be made to the cross or representations

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[14] See, for instance, WR Jones, 'Lollards and Images: The Defense of Religious Art in Later Medieval England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34.1 (1973), 27-50, particularly pp. 32 and 35; although it is worth noting that Lollard objections to images were predominantly to three-dimensional ones (such as statues) rather than to illustrations in books.

[15] See, amongst others, Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600*, London: The Hambledon Press (1993), pp. 50-51 and 87-88, and Jones, 'Lollards and Images', p. 41.

thereof), and the reverence which could and should be paid to the saints, who while being singled out by God for his blessing in his service, remained only human.[16] Yet even this differentiation did not wholly satisfy those most opposed to the use of images in worship, who tended to believe that the mass of the people were unlikely to understand such a distinction, particularly between representations of the cross and images of (human) saints. Whether the vast majority of medieval worshipping Christians who in the course of their devotions focussed at one time or another on statues, paintings, and other objects really 'credited dead material objects with life and spirit', as Kamerick summarises the Lollard approach to the question,[17] is a matter for debate elsewhere, but it is clear that there was a contemporary view that, in Margaret Aston's words, '[f]or the unsophisticated believer who knelt before a statue there existed a practical identity between the image and the saint',[18] and that this perceived identification needed to be challenged.

Both the believer and the statue to whom Aston refers are more than likely to have been located in this context in the parish church, where images played both communal and personal roles in worship. Marks opens his study of this

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[16] Jones, 'Lollards and Images', p. 44; while Duggan discusses Aquinas' reflections on Gregory's statement, he does not mention this theological point - see 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', p. 232.

[17] Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 27.

[18] Aston, *Faith and Fire*, p. 13. In the same paragraph, she somewhat wryly observes that 'The terms *latria*, *dulia* and *hyperdulia* [worship specifically due to the Virgin Mary] … remained as remote to most worshippers who lit candles before images as the theory of electricity is to most of us when we switch on the light'.

area with the statement that 'devotional images are incomprehensible without considering the communities and individuals that used them',[19] and indeed his analysis shows a remarkable attachment between parish congregations and the visual aids to worship which filled their churches in this period. Marks also emphasises that it was images of this type which were most available to the 'non-elites', which leads to the conclusion that even as the market for illustrated printed books was growing, the ordinary worshipper was more likely to encounter devotional images in church than at home. This is not to say that people such as those who bought *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* might not also have owned, handed down from a generation or so earlier, a manuscript book of prayers which contained a few devotional pictures, but - albeit arguing from what is not there rather than from what is - church decoration was probably the most common source of visual imagery related to Scripture. In the battles over the rights and wrongs of the use of images in worship, both sides (the Lollards on the one hand and those holding the more orthodox line on the other) seem to have been less concerned with manuscript illustrations and woodcuts than with carved images and wall paintings.[20] The communal nature of such artwork may again be significant here; before an era of mass production, making something big and bold and indisputably public was the best way of bringing both it and the message it was intended to convey to the attention of as many

[19] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 1.

[20] It can be argued that Lollard opposition to indulgenced woodcuts was aimed more at the concept of indulgences than at the pictures themselves.

people as possible. The shared experience, especially if it is a positive one, is then more difficult (although not impossible) for individuals to oppose. As Marks observes, '[t]he devotional image is seen as a cultural object firmly embedded in the socio-economic fabric of the parish and rooted in communal and individual life'.[21]

Yet as Marks suggests, there was a balance which was maintained between the communal and the personal use and experience of devotional images. In the same way that wall paintings and statues were used in church, pictures in books provided a way of illustrating Biblical stories so that individuals who were less sure of how to interpret the words could understand the meaning of those stories, allowing both literate and semi-literate alike then to deepen their prayer life at home as well as in church by focusing on the illustrations as part of their personal meditation and reflection. To this end, the most popular images were often those depicting situations which called for an empathetic response in the reader or viewer: the various sufferings endured by Christ in his Passion, for example, or the Virgin's grief at her son's death.[22] The popularity of such images is surely not unconnected to the increased focus on the humanity of Jesus which became prevalent in theological and doctrinal thinking and practice in the late Middle Ages. As Christine Peters observes, this was a particularly 'Christocentric piety that had originated in the world of mystics

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[21] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 1.

[22] See Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 6.

and the cloistered', but which seems to have been adopted by and adapted for lay devotions remarkably well.[23] By focussing on the suffering of Christ, particular concepts such as the Wounds of Christ and the Man of Sorrows became incredibly popular and lent themselves well to pictorial representation and mass distribution. As Eamon Duffy notes, '[t]he devotion to the Wounds developed its own extraordinary iconography', and indeed the individual wounds were very often depicted in disembodied form, separate from the body of Christ.[24] These, then, were images designed to be held onto in the mind and the memory, just as prayer books and other books of religious instruction in which they were found were being designed to be held onto while praying.[25]

As has been touched on earlier in this thesis in the brief description of the woodcuts in *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* in section 1.3 above, the likelihood of readers remembering a particular image from a different text when reading something else is important, since it builds links between texts and therefore between ideas.[26] Martha Driver makes this point in the context of her discussion of printed Books of Hours (which were in Latin), as she suggests that

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[23] Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2003), p. 3.

[24] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press (2nd edition 2005), p. 246, and see pp. 238-48 for his wider discussion of the Wounds of Christ as found in primers, and plates 98 and 99 (between pp. 244 and 245) for both carved and printed representations of the Wounds.

[25] Although as Peters notes, '[t]he process of emblematic meditation, focussing on the wounds or the instruments of the passion in isolation, further weakened the sense of Christ's humanity' (*Patterns of Piety*, p. 345), which seems to indicate that such a narrow visual focus gradually led to a loss of wider understanding of the purpose of the original concentration on this imagery.

[26] See, for instance, pp. 57, 59-60, and 63.

the way in which images are used in those texts can also be seen

> in vernacular religious texts for lay readers. Pictures seem to link the same or similar subjects in a number of different texts; they are being used conventionally or associatively.[27]

Duggan's analysis also shows that the idea of memory and recollection was a significant factor in the thinking of many of the medieval writers who tackled the issue of the use of images in worship and devotion. Bede, for example, while arguing that pictures of Scriptural material - for instance in church buildings - can be straightforwardly didactic as well as decorative, also points out that such images 'remind the viewer of what he already knows' and will thus prompt a deeper level of response to God.[28] Closer to the time of *The Fruyte*, Duggan cites '[t]he controversial' Reginald Pecock, who

> composed one of the most detailed defences in Western literature of the value of religious images and indeed of their manifold superiority to the word. He was also one of the most consistently precise writers on images as books of the illiterate, which he always described as 'rememoratijf signes', 'seable rememoratijf signes', or 'rememoratijf visible signes', ie reminding the viewer of what he already knew.[29]

The role of memory in the use of words and pictures in a wider medieval context is one which has been explored by Mary Carruthers, who notes (in this

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[27] Martha W Driver, 'Pictures in Print: Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers' in Michael G Sargent (ed), *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England,* Cambridge: DS Brewer (1989), pp. 229-44, at p. 238.

[28] Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', pp. 229-30.

[29] Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', p. 235.

case with Jan Ziolkowski) that

> those who practiced the crafts of memory used them - as all crafts are used - to *make* new things: prayers, meditations, sermons, pictures, hymns, stories, and poems. Students of art and literature have long remarked on the intensely pictorial and affective qualities of these arts in the Middle Ages. Commonly this has been attributed to a need to accommodate the 'rustic' qualities of their audiences. But a better reason for these characteristics may lie in the methods used to compose such works of art - in which case their pictorial intensity must be understood not as a condescension to rude minds but as a creative device of meditation itself, the first task of an artist, whether of prayer or painting, planning his work.[30]

Far from being a static process, then, merely transferring knowledge from someone who knew more to someone who knew less, the use of illustrations alongside and within written texts can be viewed as the starting point for a much more fluid experience. Those who read the words (whether easily or with more difficulty) and gazed prayerfully at the pictures were both completing the process begun by the copiers and illustrators and starting a new process of their own, in building on the images in their own devotions. Indeed, it could also be the case that with a memory-bank of appropriate images on which to draw, the more confident reader had less need for guiding illustrations as the picture painted by the words of a text could be as detailed as any depicted by the most skilled illuminator.

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[30] Mary Carruthers & Jan M Ziolkowski (eds), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press (2002), General Introduction p. 3, emphasis original.

While there may have been some standard forms and patterns for the most common images used to illustrate books of devotion and religious instruction, even the best illuminators and illustrators could not (and were not necessarily trained or expected to) copy every detail exactly, nor in the quantities achieved by the printing press. The relationship between text and image as experienced by the reader of a manuscript book was therefore essentially both solitary (even if the experience took place in church as part of a congregation) and unique; others had no doubt read the words and viewed the images in that manuscript before, and yet others would do so afterwards, but only that one reader could experience those words and those images together at that particular time. John Berger's observations on the relationship between a painting and its original location can thus also be applied to the relationship between text and image in a manuscript:

> Originally paintings were an integral part of the building for which they were designed. … The uniqueness of every painting was once part of the uniqueness of the place where it resided. Sometimes the painting was transportable. But it could never be seen in two places at the same time.[31]

Nearly four decades before Berger's comments, in an essay originally published in 1936, Walter Benjamin referred to this idea as 'the here and now of the work of art - its unique existence in the place where it is at this moment'.[32] Although

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[31] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London: BBC/Penguin (1972), p. 19.

[32] Walter Benjamin (trans JA Underwood), *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, London: Penguin (2008), p. 5.

both the words and the pictures found in hand-written manuscripts could be copied and recopied, each copy was itself new and unique and was experienced as such; printed books, however, removed this particular layer of the experience, although the customisation of woodcuts was often an important part of reader response to both text and image. For the first time the same image, exact in every detail, could be seen in two (and many more than two) places at once, thus changing the nature of the relationship between words, pictures, and the reader. Much of Benjamin's essay focusses on the then still relatively new medium of film, and in particular film with sound, but his observations apply just as much to a process which was just as revolutionary four centuries earlier:

> Reproductive technology, we might say in general terms, removes the thing reproduced from the realm of tradition. In making many copies of the reproduction, it substitutes for its unique incidence a multiplicity of incidences. And in allowing the reproduction to come closer to whatever situation the person apprehending it is in, it actualizes what is reproduced.[33]

While statues in churches, and to an extent hand-drawn illustrations in manuscript books, required the reader or viewer to come to them, mass-produced woodcut illustrations by their very nature could be distributed far more widely, thus changing the situation in which they were received, and therefore changing the nature of the experience of reading and viewing the image and accompanying text.

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[33] Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p. 7 (original all in emphasis).

In this context it is worth considering the place of the printer within what is usually seen as a relationship restricted to two parties: the reader, and that which is being read. While still advancing the argument that pictures helped readers to understand the words, Driver makes the point that the use of illustrations within printed texts was as important for the printer as for the reader:

> Woodcuts were not employed haphazardly; rather, pictures encouraged literacy among laymen and insured financial survival for printers like Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson. Pictures function as the key to the text, emblematic of a second vital and exciting transition made possible by printing: the movement from lay ignorance to lay literacy.[34]

The topic of the financial importance of illustrations in early printed books is also considered by ASG Edwards and Carol Meale in their examination of the marketing of such books, particularly by de Worde. They note that there was a 'developing awareness amongst printers of the importance and marketing potential of the visual presentation of texts', leading to the assessment that while

> [t]he quality of de Worde's cuts is variable, … the frequency with which he employed them, together with the fact that many of them were specifically commissioned for the works they were intended to illustrate, and that a number seek to establish a precise consonance between text and image, indicates that he

[34] Driver, 'Pictures in Print', p. 244.

> exploited the visual dimension of book design both earlier and more systematically than any of his English contemporaries.[35]

It is important to note that in all these considerations, the presumption is made that the men in charge of individual printing houses, those whose names appeared on the books they printed, were directly involved in the process of selecting illustrations to be used in those books. As Driver notes in a separate article,

> [w]ithout straightforward documentary evidence, de Worde's precise role in the illustration of books produced in his shop is difficult to define. Here, the assumption is made that de Worde was, to a large extent, responsible for the layout and page design of his books as well as for acquiring and commissioning blocks to supplement those he inherited from Caxton.[36]

Manuscripts which had been produced in organised scriptoria may have been the result of a collaborative process between the copyist and the illuminator (although it is significant that this collaboration was not usually between the author and the illuminator), so that text and image were linked within the creative process. In the case of printing, however, whether they were producing an edition of a new text such as *The Fruyte* or reacquainting the book-buying

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[35] ASG Edwards & Carol M Meale, 'The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England, *The Library* 6th series, vol. 15 (1993), 95-124, at p. 112. A similar point is made again by Edwards, here with Tamara Atkin, in 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', in Vincent Gillespie & Susan Powell (eds), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain*, Cambridge: DS Brewer (2014), pp. 27-44, at p. 30.

[36] Martha W Driver, 'Ideas of Order: Wynkyn de Worde and the Title Page', in John Scattergood & Julia Boffey (eds), *Texts and their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, Dublin: Four Courts Press (1997), pp. 87-149, at p. 87 n. 1.

public with something which they already knew in manuscript form, de Worde and his fellow-printers were the people who determined which images should be used to accompany the words in the texts which rolled off their presses. There is therefore much less scope for collaboration within the creative process, instead leading to two separate stages in the creation of a book - the first producing the words and the second producing the images.

Yet there is still a similarity between the role of the printer and that of the manuscript illuminator, which once again adds a layer to the reading experience. Maidie Hilmo argues that 'the illustrators [were] among the first professional "readers" of the texts which they converted for their contemporary audience',[37] and by extension de Worde, Redman, and the other early printers who used woodcuts in the texts which they produced filled the same role for a much wider audience. The manuscript illustrators, both individually and under direction, read and interpreted the texts which came through their hands, and decided which parts needed additional emphasis by way of images to allow for a more complete understanding and an enriched reading experience. So too did the printers, although they were not themselves creating the images which they placed next to the words in their books, but were using pre-existing woodcuts which in some cases had already been used in other texts. Driver, in yet another consideration of this area, picks up this point:

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[37] Maidie Hilmo, *Medieval Images, Icons, and Illustrated English Literary Texts: from the Ruthwell Cross to the Ellesmere Chaucer*, Aldershot: Ashgate (2004), p. 7.

> While woodcuts functioned in some cases very like manuscript miniatures, and their purposes were as various, they also expanded visual vocabulary, introducing and labelling texts for a mass-market audience. Further, printing allows an emphasis on visual continuity, which can occur within one book or across collections of books, creating networks of meaning for fledgling readers.[38]

The next section will show that in the case of *The Fruyte,* the layers of selection and interpretation thus involved contribute to a different kind of reading relationship and experience from that involved in manuscript books, but one which is no less rich.

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[38] Martha W Driver, 'Woodcuts and Decorative Techniques', in Gillespie & Powell (eds), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain*, pp. 95-123, at p. 95.

3.2 The use of images in *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*

The focus and subject matter of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* is unmistakably presented to the reader even before any words have been read due to the presence of an image of the Crucifixion on the front cover of all five editions of the text. In the case of the de Worde editions, this visual direction to the reader is reinforced by a verbal one, since the heading to chapter 1 (which in these editions is preceded by a list of the chapters which make up the text) draws attention to 'the incarnacyon and passyon of Chryst'.[39] However, as noted earlier in this thesis, Redman's edition gives the chapter list at the end of the book and omits the heading to chapter 1 within the text;[40] instead, a second woodcut of the Crucifixion is given on the inside front cover, thus providing the reader of this edition with two pictorial images on which to reflect at the start of the reading experience, rather than the verbal imagery given to readers of the other editions at the corresponding point in the book.

Yet there are significant differences between the two cuts used by Redman which are worth noting for the way in which the reader is helped by these images into the process of meditation and reflection on the life and death of Christ. In common with the cuts used by de Worde for the covers of his editions, that used by Redman on the cover has a decorative border to it, which

[39] *The Fruyte* sig. A2v, lines 19-20.

[40] See section 1.2 above, pp. 35-36.

frames the image and separates it from the reader (see figure 3).[41] Where it differs from the de Worde cover images (figures 4 and 5),[42] though, is in its simplicity within that border:

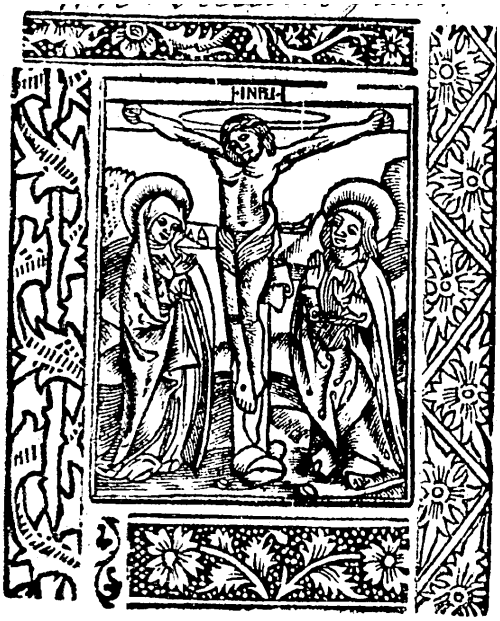

Figure 3: front cover image, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [A1]

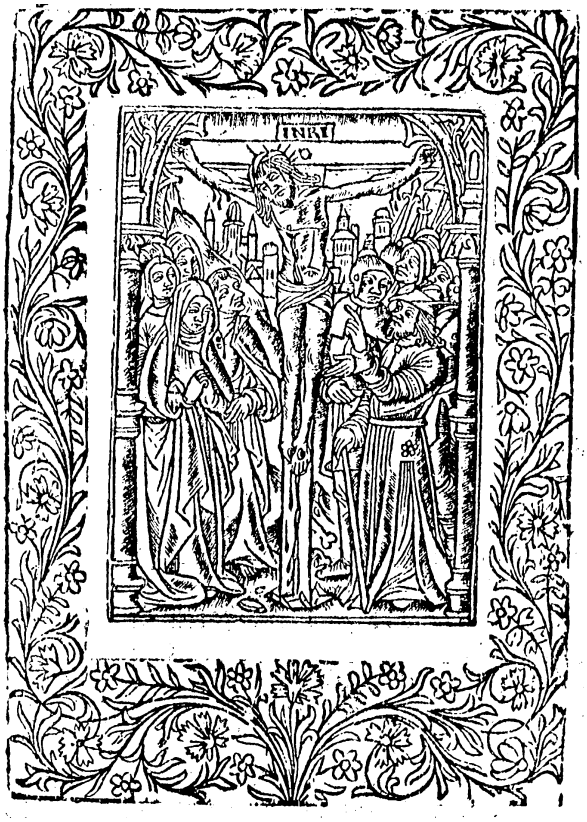

Figure 4: front cover image, *STC* 22557 sig. [A1] (also *STC* 22558)

[41] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 2384.

[42] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 779 and 860.

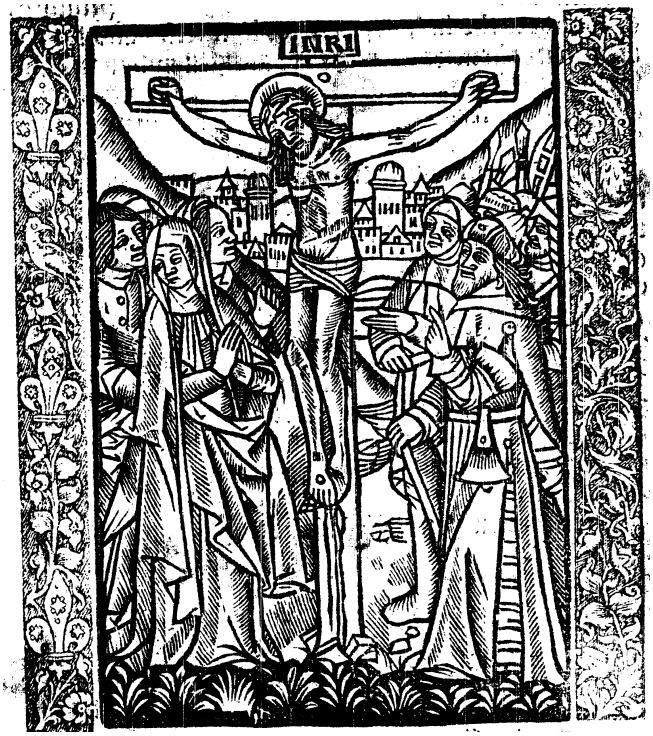

Figure 5: front cover image, *STC* 22560 sig. [A1]
(also *STC* 22559, with different borders)

The de Worde cover Crucifixion scenes are very busy, with disciples (including the Virgin) and soldiers flanking Christ on the cross, and Jerusalem in the background. By contrast, the Redman cover image has little more than rocks by way of background, and only the Virgin and St John standing either side of the cross. While affecting in its own way, this simplicity combined with the distancing effect of the framing border may actually make it less easy for the reader to engage with the image, since there is no obvious way for the observer to place himself in the situation depicted.

The second Crucifixion cut in *STC* 22559.5, however (figure 6),[43] while being busier in its composition and thus similar to those used by de Worde, has no border and therefore no barrier between the viewer and the image:

[43] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 1475.

Figure 6: inside front cover image, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [A1]v

The representation of Christ's suffering is more detailed here, inviting empathy and response from the reader; blood drops can be seen flowing from the wounds in his hands, the Virgin is reaching out in anguish to her son as his back arches with pain and he leans away from her, and as a reminder of mortality a skull is depicted at the foot of the cross. Indeed, the physicality of this image also contrasts with de Worde's two cover images; although they both show many people flanking the cross, there is much more passivity within the composition, with Mary failing in either image to make eye contact with her son, who is himself considerably less contorted in agony. Although some drops of blood can be seen flowing down Christ's arms in figure 4, if anything the eye is drawn more to the floral border, which while serving an important purpose

as a frame can threaten to overwhelm the image which it is supposed to be supporting.

Susie Nash has written about the importance of the way in which paintings intended for use in private devotions by particular individuals were framed within the painting itself, concluding that, especially for wealthy patrons with little time to waste, being made part of the framing of the image could speed up the viewer's process of reaching the desired point of meditation and prayer.[44] Of course, Nash's focus is primarily on unique images made for specific people, where the painter was able to incorporate his patron into the subject of the painting in a way that was not possible for much lower-status, mass-produced images such as the woodcuts used in *The Fruyte* and similar books. While the function of a border around a simple image to gather in the praying reader therefore works for Nash's argument, in this case it could be argued that paradoxically it is more likely for the unframed and more detailed image to offer more assistance in focusing the reader's meditations, at least at this point in the experience of the text.

As has been described in section 1.3 above, between the heading of chapter 1 and the text of the chapter itself the de Worde editions have a half-page cut of a man kneeling in prayer in front of the robed and standing Christ (figure 2):[45]

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[44] See Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 274-77 and p. 284.

[45] See pp. 57-61 above.

Figure 2: illustration to chapter 1, *STC* 22559 sig. A3
(also *STC* 22557-58, and *STC* 22560)

If, as suggested above, the figure is intended to represent the reader rather than Symon, then its placing here may serve a similar purpose to that of the second Crucifixion cut in *STC* 22559.5, that of drawing the reader into the experience of the text. Once again there is no frame to the picture, so there is no obstacle to be overcome in that sense, and the conjunction of the image and the words of the opening prayer beneath it make for easy identification between the reader and the praying figure. Furthermore, the idea of being prompted to prayer by a visual depiction of someone else praying may not have been unknown to the original readers of *The Fruyte*, as about a century earlier John Lydgate had described just such an experience in his poem 'The Fifteen Joys and Fifteen Sorrows of Mary', which is discussed by Sarah Noonen in her unpublished doctoral thesis.[46] Although in the case of *The Fruyte* the picture does not indicate the particular prayer being said (as was the case for Lydgate), the

[46] Sarah Noonen, 'Bodies of Parchment: Representing the Passion and Reading Manuscripts in Late Medieval England', Washington University in St Louis, USA (2010), pp. 153-55. This connection was originally suggested by Dr Sarah Salih.

suggestion is that if the relevant frame of mind can be achieved with the help of the image, then the text will provide the appropriate further direction of the reader's thoughts.

It may also be the case that this image was chosen as much for the representation of Christ as for the likelihood of identification with the kneeling figure by the reader. Although Hodnett's description of this cut mentions that Christ's 'bare right foot [is] extended',[47] he does not draw attention to the fact that Christ's hands are also slightly outstretched towards the kneeling man, with the index finger of the left hand in particular (which is the hand nearer to the viewer) extended and pointing. Michael Camille has referred to 'the raised and elegantly curving index finger' as 'one of the most pervasive of all twelfth-century schemata', and although this text is much later than those which he examines in his discussion of seeing and reading, his observation that '[t]he pointing index finger was a universal sign of acoustical performance, the speaking subject, or as in the case of Grimbald in the *Chronicle* … a neat way of expressing the oral witness within the written text' still holds true.[48] If the readers of *The Fruyte* would have been likely to have recognised not only individual images from other sources, but also elements within those images as having a particular meaning, then the use of this particular image at this point

[47] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 175.

[48] Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History* 8.1 (1985), 26-49, at pp. 27 and 28.

once again directs the reader to connect the visual and the verbal to complete their experience of the text.

By contrast, the cut used by Redman to illustrate chapter 1 serves less to involve the reader directly in the text, and more to continue the process of directing the focus of the reader's thoughts and prayers. This image (figure 7), of an angel supporting the dead Christ (as indicated by the presence of the crown of thorns and absence of a nimbus),[49] is much smaller than the cut used in this place by de Worde, occupying only about one-eighth of the page:

Figure 7: illustration to chapter 1, *STC* 22559.5 sig. A2

Although the relative size of this cut suggests that the focus of *STC* 22559.5 is likely to be on text rather than on image, the content of the cut is nonetheless of importance. In following two images of the Crucifixion with one of its aftermath, Christ's burial, Redman emphasises the focus of the text on the need for Christ to die for humanity's salvation. The process of salvation is of course completed by the Resurrection, which is illustrated in all editions at chapter 29, but for the reader of Redman's edition the initial visual direction is towards the suffering of Christ rather than the reward which is brought by that suffering.

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[49] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 2333, where it is described as depicting Jesus sitting 'apparently on the side of the tomb with his feet within', p. 439.

After beginning with a significant interplay between text and image, though, both printers' editions fail to maintain this high level of engagement throughout the rest of the text. Although there are illustrations to all but one of the first fifteen chapters in de Worde's editions, and to the first eight chapters in Redman's edition, the cuts used are small in comparison with the one used for chapter 1 in *STC* 22557-59 and *STC* 22560. However, they are still able to provide an important focal point for the reader's meditations, a place from which to begin even if the reader is then reliant on the text in moving beyond that beginning.

Chapter 2 is a good example of this. As has been discussed in section 1.3 above, the cut chosen by de Worde to illustrate a chapter which starts with praise of God and moves to a consideration of creation is of the Trinity (figure 1),[50] a choice similarly made by Redman in his edition (figure 8):[51]

Figure 1: illustration to chapter 2,
STC 22559 sig. A3v
(also *STC* 22557-58, and *STC* 22560)

Figure 8: illustration to chapter 2,
STC 22559.5 sig. A2v

[50] See also p. 54 above.

[51] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 2334.

This establishes that the focus of the text is firmly (and orthodoxly) on God, which is reinforced by the almost poetic, and quasi-liturgical, sequence of descriptions of God which opens the chapter:

> O Blessed lorde god, father, sone, and holy ghost, thre persones and one god, my lorde, my god [,] my maker, my redemptour, my nourissher, my defender, my swetnes, my mercy, my refuge, my strength, my victory, my sauyour [,] my ioye, and my glory eternall.[52]

The style of this passage can also remind modern readers of what is often overlooked in considerations of texts such as this, that even at this stage in the growth and development of literacy in the vernacular, and with the increased emphasis on personal devotions, reading was still something to be done aloud more often than not. The presence of the woodcut next to these opening lines also allows for each phrase to be meditated upon individually, focusing on a particular aspect of the Godhead for a particular clause, while never losing sight of the essential unity of God within the Trinity.

Chapter 2 is so anchored in the doctrine of the Trinity that it is not surprising that this focus continues into chapter 3, even though the text itself begins to move away from high contemplation towards narrative mixed with reflection. In considering the need for the redemption of mankind, praise is directed to the Three Persons of the Trinity both individually and collectively:

> Blessed be thou therfore O holy father of heuen … Blessed be

[52] *The Fruyte* sig. A3v, lines 11-18; see also section 2.2 above, pp. 124-25, on this passage.

> thou O holy ghoost … Blessed be all the holy Trinite … O swete sone of god blessed be thou ...[53]

It is worth noting, though, that this emphasised reference to the Trinity (which is still almost liturgical in its phrasing) is not then continued in the rest of the text. With the exception of the opening sentence of chapter 25, where Jesus, as he is about to die, is addressed as the 'moost purest myrrour of the holy Trinite',[54] the Trinity as a concept is not mentioned again in *The Fruyte*. The illustration in chapter 2, though, could be seen to serve as a text marker; if the reader wishes to make his own meditations on the Trinity at any point, he simply has to turn back to where that picture is found, and he will be presented with both a visual and a verbal prompt for his prayers.

In fact, most of the woodcut illustrations serve a similar purpose, although the cut of the Annunciation in chapter 3 is an exception to this rule. Although the chapter heading refers to 'the incarnacyon of Chryst',[55] and the very end of the chapter reflects on the process by which God became man in Mary's womb, 'the holy ghoost gaderynge togyder the clene and pure droppes of blode of her virgynall body, fourmynge therwith the precyous body of thyne humanite',[56] the actual event of the 'aungelyke salutacyon' is not described and reflected upon until chapter 4.[57] As mentioned in section 1.3, the cut of the Annunciation

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[53] *The Fruyte* sig. B[1], lines 17-18, 21-22, 25-26, 30.

[54] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, lines 9-10.

[55] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4]v, line 15.

[56] *The Fruyte* sig. B[1]v, lines 2-5.

[57] *The Fruyte* sig. B2v, lines 13-14.

is the only one used in Redman's edition which was also used by de Worde, although it appears in only the first two of his editions.[58]

Another anomaly, which is also intriguing but not of great significance, is that while for the most part at the relevant place the text enlarges and expands on the scene represented in the picture, in one respect the illustrations provide far more information than is given in the text itself. As has already been noted, there is no mention of Joseph in the text of *The Fruyte*, although he is depicted in most of the cuts illustrating the chapters dealing with the early life of Christ, for instance in the illustrations for chapter 4 in *STC* 22559.5 and for chapter 8 in de Worde's editions:[59]

Figure 9: illustration to chapter 4, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [A6]

Figure 10: illustration to chapter 8, *STC* 22559 sig. [B5] (also *STC* 22557-58, and *STC* 22560)

[58] See p. 62 above. It is also worth noting as a point of interest that de Worde used three different cuts of the Annunciation in his four editions (Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 387 in *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558, no. 417 in *STC* 22559, and no. 596 in *STC* 22560), despite there being a cut of this event in the series from which he used illustrations for chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, and 19 in all his editions (Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 623, pp. 208-12; see also pp. 56-57 above).

[59] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 2335 and 629. Joseph is not present in the cut of the Adoration in chapter 6 in any of the editions, but he is present in the cuts for chapters 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 in *STC* 22559. Neither Joseph nor Mary are shown in the cut used for chapter 9, the Teaching in the Temple, in *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22560 (Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 736), and chapter 7, the Presentation in the Temple, is not illustrated in *STC* 22558. *STC* 22559.5 has cuts at chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, but again Joseph is not depicted in the cut for chapter 6.

In contrast with his visual presence, his verbal absence is subtly handled so that it is not at first noticeable but becomes clear only on repeated reading of the text. The Nativity immediately follows the reflection on the Annunciation in chapter 3, so there is no account of the reason for the journey to Bethlehem being due to Joseph's heritage (as given in the Gospel account in Luke 2). Chapter 7, reflecting on the Presentation in the Temple, describes the infant Jesus as being taken there 'in the armes of [his] mother',[60] while chapter 8 completely glosses over Joseph's role in the Flight into Egypt. Whereas the account in Matthew 2 has Joseph being told by an angel both to leave and when to return, Symon, here addressing Christ, says

> But thou the hope of pylgrymes went into Egypte … And after the deth of Herode thou were called agayne from Egypte in to Nazareth.[61]

The only verbal reference to Joseph's existence is an indirect one in the last line of chapter 8, which states that once in Nazareth, Jesus was 'humbly subiecte to thy parentes'.[62] The apparent acceptance of the difference between what is presented visually and what is described verbally suggests both that the readers of *The Fruyte* may have known enough of the Scriptures to understand what was being referred to, even if only obliquely, and also that the less fluid nature of iconographic tradition (compared with text) was accepted by printers and readers alike. As in the case of Redman's choice of cut for chapter 31 on

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[60] *The Fruyte* sig. [B4], line 28 - sig. [B4]v, line 1.

[61] *The Fruyte* sig. [B5], lines 12-13, 17-18.

[62] *The Fruyte* sig. [B5], lines 19-20.

Pentecost, discussed below,[63] although illustrations are provided to assist the reader, they are there to enhance the text, not to replace it.[64]

In this respect, therefore, it is important not to overlook completely the contribution of the author to the relationship between text and image. As noted in the previous section, the presumption here is that, in common with most (living) writers whose works were printed by de Worde, Redman, and their peers, Symon had little or no input into the choice of woodcuts which illustrate the different editions of *The Fruyte*, these choices being made instead by the printers themselves. However, this does not completely remove him from the interface between word and picture. In the same way that the author of a text such as *Dives and Pauper* paints a picture with words to enable the reader to 'see' the crucifix and better meditate on it,[65] and in contrast with the example of the absence of Joseph, in places it is the text of *The Fruyte* which provides the images for reflection rather than the cuts chosen by the printers.

However, this does not imply that the reader is then merely a passive element

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[63] See figure 14, pp. 246-47, and also pp. 261-63 (in section 3.3).

[64] In this particular case, it is also worth noting Cynthia Hahn's observation, in her examination of the early fifteenth-century Mérode Triptych, that '[t]he Holy Family stands for the figure of the Earthly Trinity and represents an ideal of primary family roles at a time of important changes in the conception and model of the family in Europe'; Cynthia Hahn, '"Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee": The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych', *The Art Bulletin* vol. 68 no. 1 (1986), 54-66, at p. 55. If the connection between an image of the Holy Family and the concept of the Trinity were one which could be made by a contemporary reader of *The Fruyte*, then this would add a further layer to the visual experience of the text.

[65] See Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art*, p. 50.

in this process. Denise Despres begins her study of the influence of Franciscan spirituality on medieval literature with the statement that

> [n]o faculty is more essential to a sacramental religion than the imagination. The intangible mysteries of the Trinity, of the Resurrection, or of transubstantiation elicit visual responses from all neophytes, whether they are adults probing a new theology or children memorizing their catechism.[66]

She further observes that as the Franciscans sought to use 'meditations on Christ's humanity … to teach the unlearned or the laity to prepare for penance', they were aided in this task by the fact that '[e]ven the simplest medieval layperson knew enough of the gospel narrative to reconstruct important events from Christ's life'.[67] Although referring to the situation in the fourteenth century when scriptural material in English was much less freely available for consultation by the laity, this no less applies to the context of *The Fruyte*. Indeed, if this pattern of meditation is followed, with memory and imagination both playing significant parts in the devotional process, then by way of a specific example it could be argued that chapter 12 of *The Fruyte* is much more than merely a bridging device, as described in section 1.2 above.[68]

As noted in that section, there is no reflection or prayer provided by Symon in this chapter, merely a list of events taking place during Jesus' ministry (the

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[66] Denise Despres, *Ghostly Sights: Visual Meditation in Late-Medieval Literature*, Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books (1989), p. xi.

[67] Despres, *Ghostly Sights*, pp. 7-8.

[68] See p. 36.

previous chapter having dealt with the temptation in the wilderness, and the next chapter beginning the Passion narrative with the entry into Jerusalem). There is also no illustrative woodcut for chapter 12 in any of the editions of the text (although the cut for chapter 13 does intrude on the end of chapter 12 in all four of the de Worde editions), so the reader is left entirely dependent on his own resources for meditation at this point. It could therefore be a chapter to be read relatively quickly before spending more time on the more emotive material of the Passion chapters, or instead it could be a chance to linger in deeper contemplation, focussing on each event and miracle in turn. In support of this latter option, it may be significant that in the second part of the chapter in particular, the usual long-winded, almost stream-of-consciousness, style is replaced by sentences which are brief to the point of being terse; it is also worth remembering that this portion of the text is a direct translation from the *Antidotarius*. For example, in the space of seven lines from chapter 12, eight separate incidents are listed, in eight sentences:

> Thou cured Lunatykes. Thou delyuered possessed of feendes. Thou reysed deed men. Thou clensed lepers. Thou delyuered a woman taken in auoutry from condempnacyon of deth. Thou clensed Mary mawdeleyn from synne. Thou heeled the woman from the fluxe of blode. Thou gladded the woman askynge helth for her doughter.[69]

This passage gives just enough information in each sentence to allow the reader

[69] *The Fruyte* sig. C[1], lines 10-16; see *Antidotarius* sig. A4v, col. 2 lines 13-24, although the Latin consists of six sentences, and includes mention of the healing of paralytics and the thirsty (or the poor; the word used is 'aridos') which is not found in the English text.

to identify the episode referred to but there is no further elaboration, unlike in most of the other chapters in the text. The reader therefore has to provide his own images for reflection and meditation on these events, suggesting that a relatively a good working knowledge of the four Gospels would be required, thus reinforcing Despres' point regarding the scriptural knowledge of the medieval laity.

Symon's own position as an anchorite may be important in this context as well. Suzannah Biernoff's book *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* is a complex study of vision and visuality in the medieval period, which

> shows how medieval theologians and optical theorists attempted to reconcile concepts of a disembodied or distancing gaze amenable to scientific discovery with ideas of vision as an intermediary zone between viewers and their objects.[70]

In the chapter 'The Custody of the Eyes', Biernoff discusses Bernard of Clairvaux's ideal that those who follow the way of the professional religious within the monastery or convent should enclose their senses in the same way that they themselves are enclosed as monks and nuns.[71] This shutting-off from external visual stimuli should restrict the opportunity for sin, and therefore allow the soul to focus on higher things; as Biernoff observes, '[a]lthough the architectural "blindfold" of the cloister was the ideal, it did not, as one might

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[70] As it is described in Emma Campbell & Robert Mills (eds), *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality and Sight in Medieval Text and Image*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2004), Introduction p. 3.

[71] Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2002), p. 115, where she notes that similar advice is found in the *Ancrene Wisse*.

expect, correspond to a visually barren existence.'[72] This has significance when considering the verbal imagery in *The Fruyte*, since while not as completely cut off from the world as were monks such as Bernard, Symon was still enclosed within a space which he had chosen to occupy, where he would have been aware of the sounds (and smells) of the medieval City of London, but less able to experience the more general sights.

Although concentrating more on issues of space than of vision in relation to the anchoritic life, both Liz Herbert McAvoy and Michelle Sauer provide reinforcement of the idea that enclosure did not necessarily restrict the way in which sensory stimuli affected the anchorite. In discussing the case of the fourteenth-century Bury Recluse, McAvoy observes that

> [h]ere, then, we have an anchoritic body whose senses are still alert to the world around it, and whose routines vary accordingly, offering some internal-external interaction which - discursively at least - the anchorite's vocation has required him to leave behind.[73]

Sauer, examining the difference between privacy and solitude and the spiritual significance of each, concludes that

> [u]ltimately, it is the anchoritic imagination, dependent upon the internal and the external and shaped by a carefully chosen

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[72] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, p. 115.

[73] Liz Herbert McAvoy, 'Gender, Rhetoric and Space in the *Speculum Inclusorum*, *Letter to a Bury Recluse* and the Strange Case of Christina Carpenter', in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press (2008), pp. 111-26, at p. 114.

> vocabulary, that allows for a connotative definition of solitude - despite (and not because of) the existence of walls.[74]

However, it could also be argued that in writing for mass publication for others, Symon undermined this sought-after solitude by allowing the existence of the outside world not only to be acknowledged, but to be the reason for his labours within the anchorhold (at least for the earliest part of his time at All Hallows, since the first edition of *The Fruyte* was published in the year after that in which he was enclosed).

As in the cases of Bernard and those to whom the *Ancrene Wisse* was addressed, therefore, Symon's words may have had to provide much of the imagery for his own devotions, building on the visual stimuli within both his cell and the main body of the church, but still to an extent restricted by physical boundaries. Richard Marks describes one of the churches he uses as case studies in his survey as being 'peopled by multiple images' in the early sixteenth century,[75] and there is no reason to suppose that All Hallows London Wall differed from other parish churches of the time in this respect. However, the surviving evidence for the decoration with which Symon would have been familiar is extremely sparse. Some indication is given in the churchwardens' accounts of items which were owned by the church and which may well have been on display either permanently or for particular services, but there is no way of

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[74] Michelle M Sauer, 'Privacy, Exile and the Rhetoric of Solitude in the Medieval English Anchoritic Tradition', in McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold*, pp. 96-110, at p. 107.

[75] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 13.

knowing which specific images Symon may have had available to him when praying and writing. Donald Findlay notes that the church itself 'seems to have been relatively small and plain, for this was always a poor part of the City',[76] although this does not mean that it was without its own treasures, albeit on a small scale. The inventory of 1500-01, given at the end of Charles Welch's edition of the accounts, lists (amongst other items) three crosses of varying weights and materials, two paxes, one of which was decorated 'wyth iij Images off sylver', a clasp intended for a statue of St Nicholas, and the church's only relic, 'a Bone of saynt Davy Clossed in sylver'.[77] Welch also notes that at some point in the period covered by the accounts for 1509-11, 4d was paid 'for the garnysyng of the vernakyllhed',[78] suggesting that an image of the Vernicle, Christ's face imprinted on a cloth, was in some way present or associated with the church at that point. The inventory also lists 'a pontyfycall off saynt Thomas of Canterbury Clossed in sylver', indicating that decorated books for use in worship were not unknown at All Hallows.[79]

However, since both this portion of the inventory and the mention of the Vernacle predate Symon's enclosure at All Hallows, some caution should be

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[76] Donald Findlay, *All Hallows London Wall: A History and Description*, London: privately printed (1985), p. 6.

[77] Charles Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall, in the City of London. 33 Henry VI to 27 Henry VIII (AD 1455 - AD 1536) to which is added a facsimile of 'The Fruyte of Redempcyon' by Symon the Anker of London Wall*, London: privately printed (1912), p. xviii and p. 68; see also Findlay, *All Hallows London Wall*, p. 6. For further discussion of the inventory in relation to All Hallows' anchorites, see section 4.3 below.

[78] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xviii and p. 51.

[79] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 68.

exercised in assuming that these items and images would still have been available to him, although such an assumption is more than likely. Entries at the end of the inventory, which Welch notes 'are written in a later hand' than the ones already referred to, mention both a chalice given to the church by Symon in 1522 and 'the best crosse', bought for 1s although no date is given.[80] These entries therefore indicate that even if the earlier items were for some reason no longer accessible to Symon, he would have been aware of at least one cross in the building on which to focus his devotions.

As regards the content of Symon's text, the image of the cross is one which becomes increasingly important in *The Fruyte*, since after several unillustrated chapters all editions have a woodcut of the Crucifixion at chapter 19 (figures 11 and 12). The same cut is used in all four of de Worde's editions (and is part of the series already mentioned), while that used in Redman's edition is part of the series designated by Hodnett as the 'Fruite of Redempcion' series:[81]

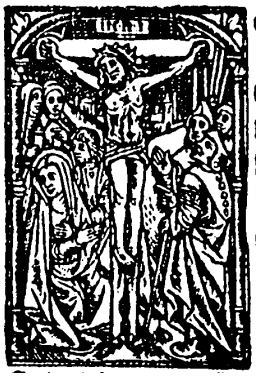

Figure 11: illustration to chapter 19, *STC* 22559 sig. D3 (also *STC* 22557-58,

Figure 12: illustration to chapter 19, *STC* 22559.5 sig. [C7]v

[80] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 68.

[81] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 630 and 2341; see also pp. 64-65 above.

and *STC* 22560)

Once again, the cut used in *STC* 22559.5 is of a very simple composition, reflecting the image on the cover of this edition in showing only the Virgin and St John flanking Christ (although the quality here is not good, the angle of the faces suggests the possibility of eye contact between Mary and Jesus). Similarly, the cut at chapter 19 in de Worde's editions shows a more crowded scene, like those on the covers of these versions, where once again the Virgin turns away from the sight of the sufferings of her son.

The placing of this image again marks the chapter where the narrative which is illustrated by the picture begins, but in this case this particular illustration has to serve as the only visual reference point for the rest of the Passion narrative, which continues for eight more chapters until the body of Christ is removed from the cross in chapter 28 (which is illustrated with a cut of the Deposition in the de Worde editions, although not in *STC* 22559.5). Given that the verbal imagery and description increases in intensity from this point, the lack of illustrations may indicate a sensitivity on the part of the printers, as they become less directive in their guiding of the reader's experience and instead allow the words to paint the picture. Christine Peters has succinctly described the change effected in the practice of faith around this time as 'the contrast between a religion primarily experienced through the image to one primarily apprehended through the word'.[82] As described in section 2.4 above, examining

[82] Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, p. 2.

chapters 20-26 on the Seven Last Words from the Cross, this shift of focus from image to text is one which is certainly present in *The Fruyte*.

Conversely, though, the foreshadowing of a future return from text to image in a more general context can also be discerned here. The narrative of chapter 19 follows the pattern of the Stations of the Cross: following his condemnation to death, Jesus is given the cross, meets his mother, has the cross carried by Simon of Cyrene, meets Veronica and then the women of Jerusalem, is stripped and is nailed to the cross. Only one of the traditional three falls is described, Simon of Cyrene is not specifically named, and there is no formal structure identifying them as the devotional Stations on the road to Calvary, but they are plainly present. The observance of the Stations as a devotional exercise with associated indulgences, separate from actual pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the following of the Via Dolorosa, seems to have started to emerge around this time, but it appears that the pictorial representation of this sequence of events as the format in which they are best known today came some centuries later than the written treatment.[83] As a result, there would have been no specific images for the original readers of *The Fruyte* to associate with these events, once more allowing the visual imagination to prevail.

Similarly, although there was an established devotional practice around Christ's

[83] Toddy Hoare, *The Stations of the Cross*, Cambridge: Grove Books (2007), pp. 5-7.

Seven Last Words from the Cross, Duffy's examination of the way in which these portions of Scripture were used in personal devotions, usually in the form of the 'Fifteen Oes of St Bridget', does not indicate that there was a standard way of presenting these meditations pictorially.[84] Unlike the treatment of the Wounds of Christ, therefore,[85] but in common with the focus on the Stations, the imagery in the seven chapters of *The Fruyte* which deal with the Seven Last Words has to be verbal as there is no specific background on which to draw for guidance. However, an examination of Hodnett's survey of woodcuts shows that while there were numerous versions of the Image of Pity to be found, there were very few cuts of the individual Wounds included in texts printed in the period covered by his survey, which is somewhat surprising. Of the thousands of cuts listed, it appears that a mere handful bear any resemblance to the images which are cited by Duffy and others, and which would doubtless have been familiar to the readers of manuscript books dealing with the events of the Passion. These few cuts which are listed tend to portray either the pierced hands or feet, or a bleeding heart, rather than images such as the wound in Christ's side, which was a very popular motif in devotional (and particularly mystical) literature of the Middle Ages.[86]

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[84] See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 248-56.

[85] See section 3.1 above, p. 212.

[86] See for instance Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 675, 676, 677, 2041, 2158, and 2365, and Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535 Additions & Corrections*, London: The Bibliographical Society (1973), no. 2509; and also Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 244 ff. In contrast, Hodnett lists over 30 examples of the 'Image of Pity'.

Despite the fact that there are here no direct visual reference points for the reader, as has been seen some of these chapters contain a striking amount of very visual descriptions. Of particular interest is the way in which colour (albeit the verbal description of colours, rather than coloured images themselves) is used in the passages relating to the physical changes which Christ's body undergoes as he dies, for example, in chapter 26:

> … whan the tyme of deth was come thy blessed eyen appered al deedly, the chere of thy vysage was all waylynge and lamentable, thy mouth opened, thy tethe apperynge whyte, thy tunge all blody, thy bely cleued to thy backe all consumed fro moystnes as though thou had no bowelles, all thy body pale and wan by reason of flowynges out of blode, thy handes and fete greatly swollen by straynynge and naylynge to the crosse, thy heere and berde reed with blode and clotted.[87]

In the space of one sentence the reader is presented with the contrast between the white teeth and the bloody tongue, and the hair and beard reddened with blood are set against the paleness of the skin. Once again, the role of memory is an important one here, as such imagery might well have been familiar from other reading material. Duffy points out that '[t]he drying out and discolouring of Christ's body as he dies on the cross … fascinated the English religious imagination, and feature prominently in Julian of Norwich's revelations', [88] and the particular focus on different colours can be seen, for example, in Julian's eighth showing. Here she describes Christ's face turning 'more dede into blew,

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[87] *The Fruyte* sig. [D6]v, line 26 - sig. E[1], line 6.

[88] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 251.

and sithen more brown blew, as the flesh turnyd more depe dede', and the whole body being 'brown and blak, al turnyd oute of faire lifely colowr of hymselfe onto drye deyeng'.[89] The reader is therefore encouraged, even if more obliquely in *The Fruyte* than in Julian's *Revelation*, to spend some time reflecting on the different colours of Christ's dying body, allowing for images to be created in the mind that are not overtly present in the text.

However, when the narrative in *The Fruyte* reaches the point of Christ's death and its aftermath, the woodcuts return (at least in the de Worde editions) with illustrations of the Deposition in chapter 28, followed in the remaining chapters by cuts of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and (in *STC* 22559 only, figure 13) Pentecost.[90] *STC* 22559.5 has a cut of the Resurrection at chapter 29 and a cut at chapter 31 to illustrate the events of Pentecost, (figure 14) although de Worde and Redman clearly differed in their decisions as to how to illustrate this chapter:[91]

[89] Julian of Norwich (ed Marion Glasscoe), *A Revelation of Love*, Exeter: Exeter University Press (revised edition 1993), p. 24.

[90] Chapter 28 has Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 360 (*STC* 22557 and *STC* 22560), 346 (*STC* 22558), and 664 (*STC* 22559); chapter 29 has nos. 747 (*STC* 22557), 347 (*STC* 22558), 668 (*STC* 22559), 2342 (*STC* 22559.5), and 669 (*STC* 22560); and chapter 30 has nos. 348 (*STC* 22557-58 and *STC* 22560), and 672 (*STC* 22559).

[91] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 352 and 564.

Figure 13: illustration to chapter 31, *STC* 22559 sig. E3v

Figure 14: illustration to chapter 31, *STC* 22559.5 sig. E[1]v

Once again the cuts act as markers for events in the text, and as before they may need to rely on the reader's ability to associate this account with passages and images which have been encountered elsewhere. There is, for example, no reference in chapter 31 to the association of the Spirit with a dove, although this is clearly what is represented in both cuts, to greater or lesser emphasis. Far from being solely (or at all, in the case of figure 14) a basic illustration of the words on the page, then, this image requires the reader to have some understanding of the way in which the concept of the Trinity is presented - and indeed also suggests that the printers did not worry about their readers taking literally the representation of the Spirit in this way.

It may not be coincidental that the illustrations reappear at the point where the pace of the narrative picks up again, almost speeding through the events of these final chapters as compared with the much slower, more descriptive, and therefore more reflective feel of the unillustrated Passion chapters. Even where the cuts require a degree of background knowledge on the part of the reader, they are still enough to fill in any details which the printers may have felt were lacking in the text as it moves towards its conclusion. The layers of reading experience and interpretation therefore build on each other. At the points where Symon's verbal imagery is at its strongest, the printers - the professional

readers, according to Hilmo's argument[92] - make the decision to leave these chapters unillustrated. As seen above, Driver argues that the positioning of woodcuts in a printed text was not random, nor dependant only on where there was a convenient space on the page,[93] and this idea is one which is reinforced by Meyer Schapiro's work. Although focussing primarily on paintings in his seminal work *Words and Pictures*, Schapiro observes at the beginning of his discussion that '[i]t is the place of the woodcut in the book, at a certain point in the text, that permits us to grasp the more specific meaning'.[94] If this is the case, then conversely the absence of woodcuts at certain points in the text must also contribute to the meaning. Here, perhaps, it indicates where de Worde and Redman made deliberate choices to let Symon's words speak for themselves, thus allowing the readers to contribute their own images to the relationship and to complement those provided both by the woodcuts and by the words of the text.

Overall, then, it can be seen that in *The Fruyte* the relationship between text and image is complex, and one which changes and develops as the text unfolds. At the beginning and the end of the narrative, where (for the most part) the speed of events is quicker, images are provided by the printers to act as reference points, to emphasise details which are important, to provide extra information

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[92] See p. 219 above.

[93] See pp. 217 and 218 above.

[94] Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton (1973), p. 9.

which the reader probably already knows but which is omitted from the text, and to play a part in directing prayers as a response to reading. When the text becomes more descriptive and the imagery is instead provided by the author rather than by the printers, Symon's words are the means by which the reader can visualise Christ so as to be able to focus the prayers which conclude the chapters. It should be noted that the whole concept of indulgences, and specifically indulgenced images (where saying a particular number of set prayers while gazing meditatively at a particular statue, drawing, or painting could achieve a certain number of days' or years' release from Purgatory) has been mentioned only very briefly in this study. This is because it is clear that this concept played no part in the construction of *The Fruyte* as it was presented to its original readers. The whole focus of the text is on how to live one's life in this world, following and obeying Christ in the present, rather than concentrating on the benefits to the soul after death. As a result, the prayers in the text flow from the words which are used to direct the reader's thoughts, and the focus of these prayers is Christ himself, not an image or representation thereof. This approach may not have been unique to *The Fruyte*, but given that indulgences were very common in the primers of the time,[95] the fact that a text which did not use indulgenced images (or indulgences of any kind) was also extremely popular in the early sixteenth century may not be insignificant in considering the place of *The Fruyte* in the devotional culture of the period. In

[95] See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 289 ff.

undertaking that consideration, a useful approach is to examine the links and connections to be made between *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* and other texts through the woodcuts themselves, as demonstrated in the next section of this thesis.

3.3 Links and connections with other texts

As the analysis and discussion of the sources for the text in chapter 2 of this thesis has shown, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* was not written in a vacuum. The way in which Symon Appulby selected, integrated, and created his material demonstrates an awareness of and engagement with the developing needs of an English-literate lay readership in the early decades of the sixteenth century. This engagement also extended to the use and selection of woodcuts by Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman to illustrate the text, as discussed in the previous section, and can be further demonstrated by surveying other religious texts printed by de Worde and Redman in the years of their respective editions of *The Fruyte*,[96] and by considering other texts in which certain woodcuts used in the various editions of *The Fruyte* also occur.[97] This section will show that while these two areas of investigation do not always intersect, there is both contrast and comparison to be found in the connections to be made.

The period in which Symon wrote, and during which *The Fruyte*'s popularity waxed, is often considered to be a significant time for the development of religious texts aimed at the laity for their personal devotion and spiritual education, such as *The Remors of Conscyence* or various Lives of Christ.

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[96] Details taken from HS Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475-1577*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1952), Appendix I pp. 239-76, checked against the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC) online at http://estc.bl.uk (accessed January 2013 and June 2014).

[97] Using the data in Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, checked against ESTC (as note above) and Early English Books Online (EEBO) at http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home (accessed November 2012 to January 2013, and June 2014).

Although the production of didactic material for the clergy, such as Mirk's *Festial*, the Sarum Primer, and the *Legenda Aurea*, remained a necessary part of the business of the growing number of printers,[98] there was also a noticeable increase in the number of vernacular texts being printed in the years from 1514 to 1532 which were aimed more at the laity. It can therefore be argued that the way in which woodcuts are used in texts for these two markets serves to illustrate this development (in all senses of the word).

As has been noted earlier in this thesis, seven cuts (out of a total of twenty, nineteen, or seventeen cuts, depending on the edition) appear in all four editions of *The Fruyte* printed by de Worde.[99] Of these, that of the Trinity which illustrates chapter 2 (figure 1 above) is not recorded elsewhere in printed matter of this period, and the cut of the kneeling man with Christ (figure 2 above) will be considered later in this section.[100] The remaining five cuts, which appear at chapters 4 (figure 15), 5 (figure 16), 6 (figure 17), 8 (figure 10 above), and 19 (figure 11 above), are from a discrete sequence, although a number of other cuts in the series are omitted from *The Fruyte*:[101]

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[98] For instance, Mary Erler notes that production of the Sarum Primer reached its peak in the decade after the suppression of the monasteries began in 1536; Mary C Erler, 'The Laity', in Vincent Gillespie & Susan Powell (eds), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476-1558*, Cambridge: DS Brewer (2014), pp. 134-49, at p. 140 n. 20, where she notes that 60 editions of the Primer were produced between 1536 and 1545, compared with 53 in the preceding decade and 43 in the following decade (her list provides figures for the years from 1475 to 1599, although the period from 1576 to the end of the century is not divided into decades).

[99] See section 1.3 above, p. 54.

[100] See also section 3.2 above, pp. 225-27.

[101] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, nos. 625, 628, and 627 respectively; see also pp. 56-57 above.

Figure 15: illustration to chapter 4, *STC* 22559 sig. B[1]v (also *STC* 22557-58 and *STC* 22560)

Figure 16: illustration to chapter 5, *STC* 22559 sig. B3v (also *STC* 22557-58 and *STC* 22560)

Figure 17: illustration to chapter 6, *STC* 22559 sig. [B4] (also *STC* 22557-58 and *STC* 22560)

Severally, these cuts also appear in a number of other texts, but the only publications other than *The Fruyte* in which these five appear together are two editions of the Sarum Book of Hours of Mary, printed by de Worde in 1502 and again in July 1514.[102] A particularly important point about the use of this sequence (or at least those cuts from it which relate to the life of Christ) is that the relevant sections of the two Books of Hours are in Latin, whereas *The Fruyte* is very deliberately written in English. Since the first edition of *The Fruyte* does not have an exact publication date within 1514, it is a matter of conjecture as to whether it was produced before or after the second of these Books of Hours, but the conjunction of these two texts is not insignificant. Hodnett's catalogue shows that although fifteen different books printed between 1502 and 1532 (in addition to the four de Worde editions of *The Fruyte*) contain at least two of the cuts in this series, these books comprise the two Books of Hours already mentioned, four editions of the *Legenda aurea*,[103] at least four and possibly six

[102] *STC* 15898 and *STC* 15919.

[103] *STC* 24878.3 (4 September 1507), *STC* 24879 (15 February 1512), *STC* 24879.5 ('30' February 1521; this apparently impossible date is taken from the text itself), and *STC* 24880 (27 August 1527).

editions of Mirk's *Festial*,[104] and at least three and possibly four editions of Love's *Mirror* (which is described by Hodnett as Bonaventura's *Vita Christi*).[105]

Even allowing for the fact that the subject matter which these images illustrate was standard fare for books which dealt with Christ's life and the associated Church festivals, de Worde's decision to use them in *The Fruyte* suggests a strong amount of confidence in Symon's material, as well as an understanding of its potential significance. In making such a visual connection between the unknown work of a living author and texts which themselves possessed the authority of years of circulation, de Worde may have been taking a considerable gamble in his first edition, albeit one which clearly paid off sufficiently for him to repeat the use of these cuts in his three further editions. Furthermore, since de Worde's last publication of a Book of Hours was in 1526,[106] and his last two editions of the *Festial* were made in 1528 and 1532,[107] it could be argued that with the passing of time the change in demand resulted in this particular set of images being more associated with texts such as *The Fruyte*, which was not as

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[104] *STC* 17971 (11 May 1508), *STC* 17973.5 (5 May 1519), *STC* 17974 (5 November 1528; this is given as 5 'December' by Hodnett, although the text itself is quite clear as to the correct month), *STC* 17975 (23 October 1532), and two dated by Hodnett as 1 August 1511 and 5 May 1515 but which are not listed in either ESTC or EEBO.

[105] *STC* 3264 (4 March 1517), *STC* 3266 (7 September 1525), *STC* 3267 (8 February 1530), and one which is dated by Hodnett as 'before 23 Mar., 1509' (see Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 209 and 210), but which cannot be identified in ESTC.

[106] *STC* 15948; see Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, p. 257. This edition includes one cut from the series, Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 630 (given above as fig. 11), but none of the others.

[107] *STC* 17974 and *STC* 17975 respectively; the antepenultimate edition, *STC* 27972.1, was produced some years earlier, in 1519 (see Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, p. 261). These last two editions do not use cuts from the series presently under discussion, although they do both include two other cuts also used in some - although not all - editions of *The Fruyte*.

directly linked to liturgical calendars and observances as were the *Festial* or Books of Hours.

De Worde's willingness to make connections between established texts and *The Fruyte* through the use of certain images can also be seen in the selection of cuts which are used in some but not all editions of Symon's text. Unlike the sequence of cuts discussed above, however, quite often *The Fruyte* provides the only appearance of these cuts in texts other than those which were quasi-canonical for the time. In his four editions of *The Fruyte*, de Worde employed three different cuts of the Annunciation to illustrate chapter 3:

Figure 18: illustration to chapter 3, *STC* 22559 sig. [A4]v

Figure 19: illustration to chapter 3, *STC* 22560 sig. [A4]v

Figure 20: illustration to chapter 3, *STC* 22557 sig. [A4]v (also *STC* 22558, *STC* 22559.5)

Of these, that in *STC* 22559 is unique and appears nowhere else (figure 18),[108] while the cut used in *STC* 22560 (figure 19)[109] appears not to have been created until the 1520s, as its first use was in a Book of Hours of around 1523,[110]

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[108] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 417.

[109] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 596.

[110] *STC* 15936, although there is no entry under this number in ESTC; EEBO lists a copy of a Book of Hours with this number held by Emmanuel College Cambridge.

followed by de Worde's last edition of the *Legenda aurea*, printed in 1527,[111] and his last two editions of the *Festial* as referred to above as well as the last edition of *The Fruyte*. In the first two editions of *The Fruyte* de Worde used a cut (figure 20)[112] which Hodnett lists as being also used in the 1514 Book of Hours discussed above, two editions of the *Festial*,[113] and three editions of the *Legenda aurea*.[114] He then seems to have passed the cut (no doubt as part of a collection) on to Robert Redman, since it subsequently appears in Redman's single edition of *The Fruyte*.

In all cases, though, the way in which this image is placed in relationship to the text of *The Fruyte* stands out. In its position at the start of chapter 3, it is used in the context of theological reflection as opposed to the more straightforward Biblical narrative accompanied by these various cuts in both the *Festial* and the *Legenda*. Although the heading to the chapter refers to the event of 'the incarnacyon of Chryst',[115] the chapter itself discusses the need for the Incarnation so as to redeem humanity from their sins, before turning in prayer to consider the role of each Person of the Trinity in the salvific action which took place in Mary's womb. (While Mary's name does occur in chapter 3, she herself, as a person who has a conversation with the angelic messenger, does

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[111] *STC* 24880.

[112] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 387.

[113] *STC* 17971 and *STC* 17973.5.

[114] *STC* 28478.3, *STC* 24879, and *STC* 24879.5.

[115] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4]v, line 15.

not appear until chapter 4, which is then illustrated by a cut of the Nativity.) The first sentence of the chapter, which in all editions is next to the woodcut, reads:

> I Laude and glorify the lord god for thy moost excellent mercy and indycyble misericorde, by the whiche thou dyd spare man from irreparable dampnacyon, trespacynge to the, beynge vnworthy to all thy benefytes, sendynge hym out fro the gladnes of paradyse to do penaunce for his synnes.[116]

In contrast, in the editions of the *Festial* referred to above the Annunciation cut is found next to a rehearsal of the Lukan narrative to explain the name of the eponymous feast day:

> Worshypfull frendes such a day ye shall haue an hyghe and solempne feest in holy chyrche the annuncyacyon of our Ladye, and that hath auowed or Joyned in penaunce must fast the euen, ye shal vndyrstande that it is called the annuncyacyon for this cause, for the fader of heuen sent his aungell Gabriell. Missus est angelus gabriel a deo in ciuitate cui nomen nazareth. In to the Cytie that was called Nazareth to our blessyd lady ...[117]

The approach in the *Legenda aurea* is similar, explaining why the feast day has this particular title:

> The feest of this day is called the annunciacyon of our lady. For on this daye the aungell Gabryel shewed to the gloryous virgyn Mary the comyng of the blyssed sone of god, that is to wyte how he ought to come in the gloryous virgyn, and take in her

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[116] *The Fruyte* sig. [A4]v, lines 16-24.

[117] *The Festial* (*STC* 17973.5) sig. Q1/fol. 83, lines 17-27.

nature and flesshe humayne for to saue the worlde.[118]

That both these texts were designed for practical liturgical use is demonstrated by the placing of the material about the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) in order between those of St Matthias (24 February) and St George (23 April) in the *Festial*, and between the lives of St Cuthbert (20 March) and St Secundus (or Seconde, 29 March) in the *Legenda aurea*.

While the text of this chapter of *The Fruyte* therefore encourages the reader to consider much wider and larger theological points than those which are addressed in the more liturgically-focussed texts, the use of this particular image here (in the form of different cuts across the editions) at the same time also provides a more narrow focus for meditation and reflection, reinforcing the message that all the events under consideration lead to this moment, when the means to humanity's salvation is revealed. The way in which these cuts are used in this point in *The Fruyte*, when compared with their placing in the *Festial* and the *Legenda*, thus seems to indicate a shift not just in the type of texts being produced but also in the way in which they were illustrated. With increased literacy also comes a presumption that those reading these texts will have the ability to make and to understand the connections within them, so that a textual reference to the Fall can be accompanied by an illustration of the Annunciation with apparent confidence on the part of the printer that the link between these two events will be comprehended, and used fruitfully in the reader's personal

[118] *Legenda aurea* (*STC* 24880) sig. [n8]v / fol. 104v, col. 1 lines 33-43.

devotions.

Further evidence of de Worde's endeavour to help the reader make connections can be seen in the use of the cut which illustrates the final chapter of *The Fruyte*, on Pentecost, in de Worde's third edition of the text (see figure 13 above). As has been observed earlier in this study, this particular edition is the best presented of all five, with consistently good quality woodcuts and greater attention paid to the correction of typographical errors than is elsewhere the case.[119] It has also been noted that this is the only one of de Worde's editions which includes an illustration for this chapter. The cut used here appears elsewhere only in four editions of the *Legenda aurea* printed by de Worde over a period of more than three decades, from the early 1490s to the late 1520s.[120] Unusually, though, it is used in these editions to illustrate 'the blessyd holy feest of Pentecest [sic]'[121] only in the earliest version, while in the other three editions it appears at the beginning of the description of the history and purpose of 'the feest of al the sayntes'.[122] A different cut of the coming of the Spirit to the apostles is used in these latter three editions of the *Legenda* to illustrate the entry for Pentecost,[123] so there must have been a reason for de

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[119] See, for instance, pp. 45-46 in section 1.2 above.

[120] *STC* 24875 (24 May 1493), *STC* 24879, *STC* 24879.5, and *STC* 24880; see Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 155. Although Hodnett actually lists this image in the section of his catalogue for cuts first used by Caxton, the dates of all books cited for this entry are post-1491, the year of Caxton's death.

[121] *Legenda aurea* (*STC* 24875) fol. 30, col. 2 lines 5-6.

[122] *Legenda aurea* (*STC* 24880) sig. ll4v/fol. 292v, col. 2 lines 23-24.

[123] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, no. 332, a cut which is not used in any of the editions of *The Fruyte*.

Worde to have selected the one which he did for chapter 31 of his third edition of *The Fruyte*.

A simple explanation could be that by 1530 the other cut no longer survived, and indeed Hodnett's catalogue lists the 1527 *Legenda* as the last text in which it appeared.[124] However, since it has already been shown that de Worde's use of woodcuts had more thought and substance to it than may be initially apparent, it may be significant to note the main difference between the two depictions of Pentecost in these two cuts. Both show the apostles grouped on either side of the Virgin, all seated in a room with a window, with a nimbed Dove (surrounded by a radiance) above them all. The cut used in *The Fruyte*, though, depicts the Virgin with a book in her lap, to which she is pointing. Representations of Mary as present on the occasion of the coming of the Spirit, although strictly speaking without basis in the Biblical account in Acts 2, were well-established by the early sixteenth century. The *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, in the entry for 'Descent of the Holy Ghost', notes that

> [t]he theme is surprisingly uncommon in Christian art after the Middle Ages … The company consists of twelve apostles … , the Virgin Mary, and occasionally Mary Magdalene and the other holy women. The Acts [of the Apostles] make no mention of the presence of the Virgin or other women, though it was usually understood from the earlier reference (1:14) that they

[124] According to Hodnett, the cut was first used by Caxton in an edition of *Speculum Vitae Christi* in around 1486, giving it a working lifespan of just over forty years; see Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 149.

> and the apostles were 'constantly at prayer together'. But the Virgin's role here is in any case symbolic: she personifies the Church itself, also perhaps the spiritual mother of the apostles. She is generally the centre of the picture, and around her are grouped the apostles, either seated or starting up in fear and wonder. Above them is the dove of the Holy Spirit.[125]

Furthermore, although not necessarily being part of the standard depiction of this scene, the inclusion of a book in Mary's possession within this composition was also well-known enough for it to be unremarkable. In addition, there is an obvious link to be made to images of the Annunciation, which (particularly in this period) almost always show the Virgin with some form of reading matter. In the case of the image of Pentecost, if (as Hall suggests) Mary on one level symbolises the Church, then the implication is that through her, access is possible not only to the Word, the incarnate Son of God, but also to 'the wordes of theyr doctryne'[126] by which all Christians may be instructed and enriched as they seek to follow the way of Christ through the guidance and inspiration of the Spirit.

In contrast, when printing his single edition of *The Fruyte* in 1531, Robert Redman chose a cut for this chapter which had a much more clear-cut association with reflection on the Holy Spirit (see figure 14 above). This image, which is solely of the Spirit-as-Dove rather than of the apostles and Mary with

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[125] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London: J Murray (1979), p. 101.

[126] *The Fruyte* sig. E3v, line 23.

the Dove above them and almost in the background, appears in a number of texts which are all dated to the 1520s, including four editions of Books of Hours of Mary,[127] and three editions of a text attributed at the time to Austin of Abingdon, *The Myrrour of the chyrche*.[128] In the Books of Hours, where the relevant passages are in Latin, the cut of the Dove illustrates prayers to the Spirit, either individually or as part of the Trinity. The use of the cut in *The Myrrour*, however, is more akin to its use in *The Fruyte*. Like *The Fruyte,* this text is in English, and provides instruction and education in more than merely the basic observances of the faith. In all three editions the cut illustrates a chapter entitled 'Of the .vii. gyftes of the holy goost',[129] and in the later two editions it also appears at the very end of the book after the printer's colophon, accompanying a final prayer:

> Almyghty lorde, o blyssed holy goost
> Whiche dyde enflame, with vertue from on hye
> Thy chosen seruauntes, the day of penthecost
> To preche thy worde, here vnyuersally
> This lytell boke, of maners ryght goostly
> Thou wylt forth sende, endued with thy grace
> In vertues the reders so to occupye
> Auoydinge vyce, in heuen to haue a place.

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[127] *STC* 15934 (20 November 1523), *STC* 15936 (?1523, although see n. 110 on p. 255 above), *STC* 15941 (?1525), and *STC* 15948; in all except the second of these the cut appears more than once.

[128] *STC* 965 (1521) and *STC* 966 (1527), both printed by de Worde, and *STC* 967 (c.1529) printed by Peter Treveris. The cut appears once in the first of these and twice each in the other two. ESTC notes that the text was actually by Edmund Rich.

[129] For example, *The Myrrour of the chyrche* (*STC* 965) sig. B3, line 11.

Amen[130]

The combination of prayer and exposition, much of it quoting Scripture, is reminiscent of *The Fruyte*, but *The Myrrour* appears to be aimed at a readership more closely linked to the monastic rhythm of worship than the audience which Symon envisaged for his work, since various chapters of *The Myrrour* direct the reader to reflect on particular Biblical events before attending the services of Matins, Prime, Terce, and Compline, amongst others.

Yet in its lack of reference to the location of the coming of the Spirit as celebrated at Pentecost, or to those present on that occasion, this particular image lends itself to a more personal devotion. With only the image of the Dove on which to focus, the reader is drawn away from considering the coming of the Spirit as an event located in a certain place and time, and is able to concentrate on the prayer at the end of this chapter of *The Fruyte*:

> Benyng Jesu I praye the to sende me grace of the holy ghoste, and his swete consolacion in all my werkes with the blessed gyftes of hym, wherby I may lede here an acceptable lyfe vnto thy pleasure, that I may therby obteyne the ioye and glorye that neuer shall haue ende. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria. Credo in deum.[131]

Removed from its historicity, the blessing received at Pentecost thus becomes timeless, and so open to all.

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[130] *The Myrrour of the chyrche* (*STC* 966) sig. [F4]v, lines 2-9 (*STC* 967 has 'maters' for 'maners' at line 6).

[131] *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22559.5) sig. [E2], lines 11-19. The cut itself is placed at the start of the chapter, which is at the foot of sig. E[1]v.

The use of this particular cut, not just in one edition of *The Fruyte* but also in three editions of *The Myrrour of the chyrche*, is a good example of the way in which the growth and development of vernacular texts of personal devotion can be tracked across the early decades of the sixteenth century. With the exception of this cut of the Dove, the woodcuts thus far discussed have all been used only in *The Fruyte* or in manual-type texts such as Sarum primers of various kinds or the *Legenda aurea*, texts in either English or Latin which were aimed primarily at those who had the responsibility of teaching and leading others in the faith. However, when considering the immediate context of the various editions of *The Fruyte*, that of other religious texts printed in the same years by the same printers, it can be seen that while in 1514 Symon's book stands out as one of two English religious texts of devotion (rather than of instruction) among texts such as Books of Hours and a Latin meditation, by 1532 it was one of at least half a dozen such books to come from de Worde's presses.[132] Indeed, it may be that the links and connections which can be made between *The Fruyte* and other texts of this period are helpful in locating Symon's book in its context. As has been seen, aside from their use in *The Fruyte*, the cuts so far considered have each tended to appear in very similar

[132] See Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, pp. 239-76. The other English text printed by de Worde in 1514 was *The deyenge creature* (*STC* 6035.5), while the Latin text was an edition of *Peniteas cito libellus* (*STC* 20079) - which contains, amongst other cuts, the image of the man kneeling before Christ which is also found in all four de Worde editions of *The Fruyte*. The other English books printed in 1532 included a further edition of *The deyenge creature* (*STC* 6035a), Whitford's *The pomander of prayer* (*STC* 25421.6), and an edition of *Nychodemus gospell* (*STC* 18570).

types of book. These cuts have also generally been small, and thus apparently designed to complement and accompany the text rather than to demand attention in their own right. In contrast, the cut of the man kneeling in prayer before Christ (figure 2), the cuts of the Crucifixion used on the covers of de Worde's editions (figures 4 and 5), and that used by Redman on the inside front cover of his edition (figure 6), all draw the reader's focus in a way which is not dependent on the words which they may be intended to illustrate.

It is impossible to know exactly how copies of *The Fruyte* were printed, and whether they were originally sold bound or as loose pages, but even in a time when the market for such texts was small it is clear that the cover or title-page was very important in persuading the buyer or reader to choose a particular book. Bennett notes that in keeping with manuscript tradition the earliest printed books were without title-pages, but that the practice of having a method of easily distinguishing between books was starting to develop by the end of the fifteenth century. This gradually became formalised, with de Worde developing

> a title-page which gave the name of the work, sometimes enclosed in a scroll, sometimes above a large woodcut, and as time went on the title-page began to bear the name of the printer, and the date of publication.[133]

It is therefore in line with this practice that the cuts which de Worde used for his

[133] Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, p. 212.

cover images are visually striking (as discussed in the previous section, one cut appears in both *STC* 22557 and *STC* 22558, and a different one in *STC* 22559 and *STC* 22560).[134] Each has Christ crucified in the centre of the composition, with the buildings of Jerusalem in the background, the Virgin and several disciples[135] on Christ's right (the viewer's left), and armed soldiers and/or citizens of Jerusalem on his left. The amount of detail in the facial expressions of all individuals, and of Christ's physical injuries, is somewhat more precise in the image used in the earlier editions (figure 4), but it is clear that both are intended to provoke an emotional and devotional reaction in the reader or viewer.

Furthermore, the use of images of the Crucifixion gives an indication of the overall focus of the text within these books. In the cases of texts such as *Vii shedynges of the blode of Jhesu cryste*,[136] which shares a cover image with the first two editions of *The Fruyte*, or *The passyon of our Lorde*,[137] which uses the same cut as that on the title-page of de Worde's latter two editions, the subject matter is easily understandable from the title, but in the case of *The Fruyte* itself this may have been less clear. The phrase 'the fruyte of redempcyon' appears in the body of the text only once, in the heading to chapter 1, where Symon inserts it into his otherwise verbatim translation from the *Antidotarius Animae*. In the wider

[134] See pp. 221-25 above.

[135] Identified by Hodnett in both cases as the other two Marys and John; Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 239 and 253.

[136] *STC* 14546.3 (1509).

[137] *STC* 14558 (6 October 1521).

context, the phrase seems to be most well-known for its use by Thomas Aquinas in the responsory for his great hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi, 'Tantum Ergo', and also in the Collect of the day, yet it is unclear whether Symon's original readers would have recognised the phrase in English.[138] The image of the Crucifixion on the cover, therefore, provides a guide as to the nature of the devotional material contained within. That the cover images used by de Worde for his editions of *The Fruyte* had each been used by him previously on the covers of texts with more recognisable titles would also allow connections to be made by the prospective purchaser or reader of the text; if such an individual had already bought or read *Vii shedynges*, for instance, and was looking for something similar, then the presence of the same woodcut on the cover might help in deciding to select *The Fruyte*.

It may be significant in this context that while the cut used on the cover of the first two editions of *The Fruyte* is also used in another twelve or thirteen books between 1509 and 1532,[139] the majority of these are liturgical manuals such as the *Legenda*, Sarum books, and the *Festial*. Furthermore, in these instances the cut appears within the text of these rather than on the cover. Its use as an image

[138] The Mass for the Feast of Corpus Christi, including the phrase 'redemptionis tue fructum' in the Collect for the day, is found in the *Sarum Missal* between the details of Masses for Trinity Sunday and the First Sunday after Trinity; see *STC* 16205 (Paris, 1526), sig. [o6]v/fol. 109v, col. 2 lines 4-10.

[139] There is a discrepancy between the ESTC and EEBO as to the date of one particular edition of the *Kalender of shepeherdes*, *STC* 22409.5, and therefore whether it is or is not actually the same as another edition of the text, *STC* 22411; they agree in dating the latter as 24 January 1528, but while EEBO gives the same date to the former, the ESTC dates it as ?1511.

to attract attention is therefore peculiar to those books which are of a more personal devotional nature, a small group comprising the two editions of *The Fruyte*, the *Vii shedynges*, and *Joseph of Arimathy*.[140]

In comparison, the cut used on the cover of de Worde's latter two editions of *The Fruyte* appears in fewer other books, although these are all works of personal devotion rather than manual-type texts, and all are focussed on Christ. In addition to *The Fruyte*, these texts are *A deuout Intercescion and praier to our sauiour Jesu Christ*,[141] which is an extremely brief work solely in the form of prayer, and two publications which are similar but which are apparently not editions of the same text, *The passyon of our lorde* mentioned earlier and *The Passyon of Christ*.[142] The cut of the Crucifixion appears both on the cover of *The passyon of our lorde* as well as later in the text, a pattern which may be repeated in the later book.[143] In terms of the growth of demand for vernacular texts for personal devotion, therefore, it could be the case that this woodcut may have been created solely to illustrate texts of this type; it appears first in 1521, and although de Worde continued producing copies of the *Legenda* and the *Festial*

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[140] *STC* 14806 (c.1511). It is also used in, but not on the cover of, an edition of Love's version of Bonaventure's *Vita Christi* (*STC* 3264).

[141] *STC* 14546.7 (c.1530), printed by Richard Fawkes.

[142] *STC* 14558, and *STC* 14559 (6 October 1532). The ESTC notes that the latter text is 'Another edition of STC 14357, published ca. 1508 with title: The passion of owr lord iesu christe wythe the contemplatio[n]s', although both the ESTC and EEBO list *STC* 14357 as a completely different text, *A princes looking glasse*, printed in 1603.

[143] The image certainly appears within the body of the text, but since the cover of this edition is not present in the British Library copy available on EEBO it has not been possible to confirm its use as the cover image.

into the 1530s, this cut was not used at all in that context.

This is also the case for the cuts used on the title-page and inside front cover of Redman's edition of *The Fruyte*, although this may be because these two cuts were used only by Redman, Pynson, and Treveris, and not by de Worde.[144] Pynson certainly printed various copies of Sarum texts, but otherwise none of these three printers produced manual-type texts such as the *Festial* or the *Legenda aurea*. As a result, while there are no connections to be made in that particular area, it is interesting to see how the two Crucifixion cuts used in this edition of Symon's text link in with other texts produced by these less prolific printers.

The larger of these two cuts, that used on the inside front cover of *STC* 22559.5 (figure 6 above), shares the emotional impact of the Crucifixion scenes used by de Worde. Indeed, if anything it may be designed to provoke an even more emotional response, since Christ's physical suffering and the Virgin's response to her son's torment are depicted to a degree not present in the other cuts, as has been considered in the previous section.[145] Bennett is not particularly complimentary about the quality of the illustrations in books printed in England in this period, observing that while '[s]ome of these had a certain artistic merit, ... for the most part our early woodcuts are sorry things compared

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[144] See Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 342 and 448.

[145] See pp. 223-24 above.

with those of foreign printers',[146] but it cannot be denied that for what it is, this cut has a depth and directness which is not found to the same extent in the cover images used for *The Fruyte* by de Worde.

It is therefore somewhat startling to remember that this image does not appear on the front cover of Redman's edition of Symon's text. That place is taken by a smaller and considerably less emotive representation of the Crucifixion (figure 3 above), in the form of a cut which appears in only one other book of the period, the edition of *The Myrrour of the chyrche* printed in c.1529 by Peter Treveris.[147] In that book, it is used with a cut of the Ascension to illustrate the chapter dealing with both of these events, which are combined as topics for meditation at noon (the next chapter considers the Last Supper and the Deposition, to be reflected on 'Afore euensonge tyme').[148] It is not therefore an obvious choice of image for the title-page of Redman's edition of *The Fruyte*, especially when the larger cut is so much more eye-catching and visually arresting. However, analysis of the books in which the more detailed cut is also found show that its placing on the inside front cover of *The Fruyte* was typical of its use by Redman, and as shall be demonstrated may actually have helped to enhance and direct the devotional

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[146] Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, p. 215. In the next sentence he allows that the cuts 'had a meretricious attraction', but even so his opinion is fairly clear.

[147] *STC* 967. This thus shows the links between the publishers of the time; as discussed above, this edition of *The Myrrour of the chyrche* used cuts which had also been used by de Worde, and here the sharing of cuts with Redman is also demonstrated.

[148] *Myrrour (STC* 967) sig. E4v, line 13. The cut of the Ascension is used in the same place, although with a different cut of the Crucifixion, in two earlier editions of this text, *STC* 965 and *STC* 966.

experience of reading the text.

This cut seems originally to have been in Pynson's collection before passing to Redman. Pynson's use of it is initially more traditional, and it is found in two editions of Bonaventure's *Speculum vita christi*,[149] a Book of Hours of Mary,[150] and a Latin instruction manual for those teaching children, *Libellus qui Informatio puerorum*.[151] There is then a gap of twenty years before Pynson's final use of the cut in *The Pylgrimage of perfection* in 1526,[152] where it appears deep within the text. After this it appears to have passed to Redman at some point before 1531, and although the type of text in which he used it is similar to *The Pylgrimage*, the placement is not. In addition to *The Fruyte*, Redman used this cut in a book of medical prayers compiled by Paul Bushe,[153] a copy of Whitford's *Pomander of Prayer*,[154] *The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion*,[155] the anonymous *Deuoute prayers in englysshe of thactes of our redemption*,[156] and a copy

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[149] *STC* 3262 (1494), and *STC* 3263 (1506).

[150] *STC* 15886 (1497).

[151] *STC* 14079 (1503).

[152] *STC* 3277. This is the text in which William Bonde recommends *The Fruyte* to his readers (see p. 89 above), in chapter 32 of the third book, dealing with the sixth day of the 'pilgrimage' (sig. [SSS8]v/fol. C.viii.verso); see Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 231, and Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 27.

[153] *STC* 4185 (1531); the introductions to the prayers are in English, although the prayers themselves are in Latin.

[154] *STC* 25421.5 (1531)

[155] *STC* 14553 (12 December 1534)

[156] *STC* 20193.5 (c.1535), a copy of which, together with copies of *STC* 4185 and *STC* 25421.5, is bound with the John Rylands Library copy of Redman's edition of *The Fruyte*. EEBO and ESTC give this text a date of c.1535 since there is none given in the text, although the JRL copy has '1531' written on the title-page (copy examined March 2010).

of Whitford's *A werke of preparacion*.[157] In all cases except one, the cut of the Crucifixion appears either on the inside front cover or the inside back cover (and in *Deuoute prayers* the cut is used in both these places). The exception to this pattern is *The Myrrour or Glasse*, where the cut appears after the Preface addressed to Lord Husey and the table of contents. Redman therefore has a particular way of placing this cut within the texts which he illustrates with it; it is not necessarily the first thing which the reader sees when picking up the book, but it is then encountered in a way which places it in close conjunction with, although still slightly separated from, the words of the text.

In the case of his edition of *The Fruyte*, then, the use on the cover of the much simpler representation of the Crucifixion showing only Christ, the Virgin, and St John means that the reader is drawn by stages into the reading and viewing experience of the text. The cover image sets the scene, as it were, giving a general indication of the subject matter (although this may be enhanced by Redman's longer version of the title of the book which appears above the image: *The Fruite of Redempcion: very profitable and moche necessary for euery Christen man*). The more emotive Crucifixion scene on the inside front cover adds degrees of involvement on a visual level, as the reader is engaged by the details in this cut which are not found in the cover image. Since the table of contents in Redman's edition appears at the end of the book, the reader then

[157] *STC* 25413 (c.1537)

moves straight into the experience of the text itself, unmediated even by the heading to chapter one as found in the de Worde editions, which is here omitted. The first words (other than the title) in this edition are therefore:

> Lorde my god I desyre to laude the, for I knowe my selfe to be made to laud the: open my mouth in thy laud: that I may sing ioy to thy name.[158]

Although the heading is omitted, this first chapter is illustrated by a cut which according to Hodnett appears nowhere else in literature of the period (see figure 7 in section 3.2 above). However, in terms of detail, size, and effect it is completely overshadowed by the Crucifixion cut which takes up the whole of the facing page, and which is likely to dominate and influence the interpretation of this edition of the text. Whatever images the reader may create for themselves whilst reading and praying through the text, the placing of this image of the Crucifixion - in this book as in others produced by Redman - ensures that it is easily accessible as a reference point and as an aid to meditation at any time.

De Worde's approach to the use of an image at the opening of *The Fruyte* has been considered already in this thesis, in relation to the position and possible interpretation of the cut of the kneeling man and Christ (figure 2 above).[159] This image appears to have been a favourite of de Worde's, since he also used it in eight other books between 1500 and 1534, and it was further used by Henry

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[158] *The Fruyte* (*STC* 22559.5) sig. A2, lines 1-6.

[159] See particularly pp. 226-27 above, in section 3.2.

Pepwell in a single publication in 1521.[160] The books produced by de Worde are predominantly devotional in nature, although they are not all intended for the same audience. *Exornatorium curatorum*,[161] which despite its title is almost entirely in English, is a manual for clergy to help them instruct the laity in aspects of doctrine such as the sacraments, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, and the seven principal virtues. The two editions of *Peniteas cito libellus*[162] seem to be designed for more individual reading, although the text is in Latin. The remaining books illustrate the developing demand for English texts for the literate layman: two editions of *The remors of conscyence*,[163] one edition of *Boke of a Ghoostly fader*,[164] which also provides instruction in the seven deadly sins, although here not delivered via the clergy, and two editions of Whitford's translation of *The Golden pystle*.[165] In all of these publications, the image of the figure kneeling before Jesus appears either on the title page or on the inside front cover, and is often the only illustration of the text in question.[166] Pepwell followed de Worde's example in using this cut at the start of a text,

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[160] See Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 175-76. De Worde also used the left-hand half of the cut, the kneeling figure, in an edition of *The Dystruccyon of Jherusalem* (*STC* 14518, 1510), where it is placed next to a cut of buildings, presumably representing Jerusalem, to illustrate the chapter 'How Jacob made his prayers vnto our lorde Jhesu cryste in the pryson' (sig. D1v, lines 3-4).

[161] *STC* 10631 (1520).

[162] *STC* 20079, and *STC* 20080 (c. 1515).

[163] *STC* 20881.3 (1500), and *STC* 20882 (1534).

[164] *STC* 3288 (c. 1528).

[165] *STC* 1912 (1530), and *STC* 1913 (c. 1531).

[166] In both editions of *Remors of conscyence* the cut appears on both the cover and inside cover, and in the later edition at the end of the text as well. The copy of the earlier edition which is available via EEBO (from the Cambridge University Library) is incomplete, but it is possible that the cut was used three times here as well.

although in *STC* 20972[167] its placement at the beginning of *The Epystle of prayer* is within the book as a whole, since this book comprises a number of texts which were collected together by Pepwell.[168]

In this context, therefore, *The Fruyte* can be seen as one of a number of devotional texts of this period where the printer chose to direct the reader's experience of the text with the use of a woodcut which provides several layers of reflection. In the case of the de Worde editions, if the reader feels able to identify with the kneeling figure then both this image and the prayers of the text can be used to place himself at the feet of Christ, and to ask for the forgiveness which is promised by the hand of Christ outstretched in blessing. If at any point while reading the text the concept of God's coming to his people in human form is hard to comprehend, then turning back to look at the recognisably earthly (rather than heavenly) walls and floor pictured in the cut provide a reassurance that Jesus meets his followers where they are, rather than demanding that they come to him. There is also an implicit connection to be made between the figure in the cut and Symon Appulby himself, whose words provide a way for the reader to come into the presence of Christ in the first place. Although not named until the colophon at the end of the text, the juxtaposition of the first-person prayers and reflection with this image guiding

[167] 16 November 1521.

[168] *The Epystle of prayer* begins on sig. [E4], and follows the selection of extracts from Margery Kempe which were all that was known of her *Boke* until the rediscovery of the manuscript in the 1930s.

the reader from the beginning of the book means that by the end the reader is (as requested) praying as much for Symon as for himself.

Although not all the cuts used in the various editions, and the resulting connections between *The Fruyte* and other texts, have been considered here, it is nonetheless possible to conclude that in its use of woodcuts, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* is a text which demonstrates within itself the development of the treatment of vernacular devotional texts by early English printers. The use by de Worde in his four editions of the text of woodcuts which were otherwise primarily, if not exclusively, associated with manual- or liturgical-type texts shows that the boundaries between what was considered necessary for the clergy and what was deemed appropriate for the laity were being redrawn, if not yet dismantled. The placing of specific woodcuts next to particular passages in the text also reveals that printers such as de Worde and Redman were coming to recognise that the emerging literate laity did not need to be prescriptively directed as to the connections to be made between text and image, but could be allowed to find their own ways to deepen and enrich their meditations as their understanding of their faith grew. For instance, illustrating a mention of the Fall and humanity's resulting sinfulness with a picture of the Annunciation offers the reader the opportunity to reflect on how one leads to the other, and how one may therefore be necessary for the other in order to have an effect.

It is also clear that *The Fruyte* was not alone in the market for such texts aimed at a growing audience. While on the one hand de Worde's use of stock cuts from Books of Hours and the like in a text such as *The Fruyte* was a new development, his placement of larger images within the text is indicative of a pattern employed in similar texts of the period, by both de Worde himself and other printers. Whether it be through the use of an eye-catching cover image, or through a cut carefully placed near the beginning of a text itself, the use of certain images to locate and relocate the reader's devotions is demonstrated in numerous books of the period, of which *The Fruyte* is but one example. The significance of the use of woodcuts in this text, though, may be in the combination of the two approaches here described. It has already been noted that in the Introduction to his catalogue of woodcuts, Hodnett observes that the first publication of *The Fruyte* in 1514 marked 'something new' in de Worde's method, and that his approach here 'may be taken as typical of [his] way of illustrating a book'.[169] This assessment that the production of *The Fruyte* marked a change in direction for de Worde appears to be borne out in the brief analysis presented here of the use of certain woodcuts in that text and also in other books of the period, both as regards the choice of cut and the choice of placement of the cut in the text.

[169] Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, p. 27.

As has been demonstrated with regard to other aspects of the text, then, it can be seen that *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* occupies a more significant position in the study of illustrated early printed books than has previously been recognised. De Worde clearly saw in Symon's text the potential for a relationship between text and image which encouraged and allowed the reader to ponder on the messages of both elements of the book, but which still maintained a carefully orthodox position and did not stray into territory which could have been considered contentious, whether it be in relation to indulgences or by making the images themselves the focus of devotional attention. De Worde's lead was followed by Redman, whose use of two contrasting images of the Crucifixion at the start of his edition of the text suggests a confidence in the growing sophistication in the readers of such material in the matter of focussing their own prayers; signposts may still be needed, but they offer a variety of directions to the same destination rather than pointing to a single prescribed pathway. The use elsewhere of particular woodcuts found in the various editions of *The Fruyte* also suggests that the success of this new and somewhat experimental way of illustrating devotional material encouraged both de Worde and Redman, and other printers, to continue in this vein, expanding their use of such illustrative techniques from a narrower focus on texts such as Sarum primers or the *Legenda aurea* to a wider selection of personal devotional material in English.

It is therefore the case that a text written by a man who, due to his anchoritic

enclosure, probably had very little in the way of direct visual stimulus himself, nonetheless played a significant part in the growth and evolution of the new medium of illustrated printed books of devotion. Indeed, although the focus of this study has so far been primarily on the text itself, Symon Appulby's vocation and location as an anchorite in London has a significance with relation to the popularity of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* which should not be overlooked, and which will be considered in the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 4: 'O All ye seruauntes of god … praye for the Anker of London wall'[1]

Symon Appulby's Location and Context

In arguing that *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* was of more significance at the time of its publication than has previously been presumed, and is worth more scholarly consideration now than it has hitherto been accorded, this thesis has thus far focussed predominantly on the text itself, rather than on its author. Chapter 2 analysed how the text was put together by Symon Appulby, while chapter 3 discussed the approaches taken by Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman in illustrating Symon's words for publication. Both of these chapters have shown that despite Symon's anchoritic enclosure the text was not produced in isolation, but was part of a network of both textual and visual connections. These connections reach back into the preceding decades (and centuries) as much as they look forward, since as an anchorite in the City of London Symon was himself placed in a context of great depth and richness. Those studying vernacular theology in the period around the Reformation often tend to overlook the anchoritic aspect, while those who focus on anchorites and solitaries may not extend their work as far as the early sixteenth century, meaning that this crucial overlap has often been missed. Yet considering the role of anchorites within communities in this period offers another layer of

[1] *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* sig [E4], lines 6-7 (colophon).

explanation for the popularity of *The Fruyte*, since such a consideration may help to explain the context in which Symon felt called to write his book.

The colophon to *The Fruyte* notes that he wrote it for those who could read English but not Latin, and given the circumstances of his situation, the people to whom that description applied of whom Symon would have been most aware were the parishioners of All Hallows London Wall, as well as others who had cause to pass by his anchorhold on the northern edge of the City of London. After all, as Norman Tanner has observed, '[m]edieval people constitute the first source of popular religion', a point which he expands on by saying that '[t]hey may be divided into three groups: the great, the middling sort, and the largely anonymous masses'.[2] It is this third category, as organised into the local parish with its associated connections, which will be discussed in this chapter. The first section will consider how anchorites related to parishes more generally, followed by an examination in the second section of elements of the connections between towns and cities and anchorites, particularly London, across the medieval period. The final section of this chapter then considers in more detail (through the medium of the parish accounts) the relationship between All Hallows and its anchorites, a succession of whom culminated in Symon Appulby.

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[2] Norman Tanner, 'Sources for Popular Religion in Late Medieval England', in his collection *The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval England and Western Europe*, London: IB Tauris (2009), pp. 79-93, at p. 80. (This chapter was originally published in *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*, nuova serie 48 (1995), 33-51; see Tanner, *The Ages of Faith*, p. 212.)

4.1 Solitary in community: the medieval parish and anchorites

This focus on the parish is not new, of course, as much of the work in recent decades on English religion and spirituality in the pre-Reformation period has looked in greater or lesser detail at community interaction, and at the relationships within and between different sections of society. Eamon Duffy notes at the start of the chapter 'Corporate Christians' in *The Stripping of the Altars* that 'the overwhelming impression left by the sources for late medieval religion in England is that of a Christianity resolutely and enthusiastically orientated towards the public and the corporate, and of a continuing sense of the value of cooperation and mutuality in seeking salvation.'[3] John Arnold, at the start of his survey of medieval European faith and belief, states that '[r]eligion, whatever else it is, has a social existence, and beliefs are formed, expressed and acted upon within social contexts'.[4] Katherine French begins from a slightly different perspective in her study of parishes in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, considering the sociological reasons for community before narrowing down the focus:

> As a working definition in this book, *community* denotes the repeated interactions over time of a group of people with shared goals, history, interests, concerns, and ideals. This continual interaction creates a group history that can enhance the group's identity. Although for the late medieval parish this interaction usually focused on a particular geographic area,

[3] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press (2nd edition 2005), p. 131.

[4] John H Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, London: Hodder Arnold (2005), p. 6.

> location alone did not create community. Members had to be willing to work for the group and its preservation and not just for individual self-interest.[5]

As French demonstrates, the social context which has attracted particular attention in examinations of medieval community is that of the parish. Analysing churchwardens' accounts, records of feasts and festivals, wills, and other such evidence shows that the parish was a significant element in the structure both of the Church and of wider society, with an important focus on social interaction and corporate responsibility. This is probably best summed up by Katherine French, Gary Gibbs, and Beat Kümin in the Introduction to their collection of essays on this subject, explaining the reason for their focus on this area of study:

> Why the parish? Because of its importance in the religious, political, and cultural life of English society. It was the level of most collective social behaviour. Poor relief, religious worship, neighbourhood and village celebrations, the collection of taxes, and a myriad of cultural interactions and negotiations were all organised and conducted within this fundamental unit. English society and culture between 1400 and 1600, two centuries at the watershed between the medieval and early modern periods, simply cannot be understood without taking the parish into account.[6]

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[5] Katherine L French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a late Medieval English Diocese*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press (2001), p. 24, emphasis original.

[6] Katherine L French, Gary G Gibbs, and Beat A Kümin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (1997), p. 3.

That the parish had more than merely a religious function is then highlighted in Kümin's further work in this area:

> After the parochial network had crystallised by the thirteenth century, lay influence grew from about 1300 through a combination of voluntary activity, legal ingenuity and institutional innovation, in particular the soon universal office of churchwarden. By the fifteenth century, and in spite of Common Law reservations, parishes routinely demonstrated their quasi-corporate status by means of elected officers, communal funds, recourse to various law courts and levying rates on their members. Some even used their own seal! Community-formation, however, was not merely a topographical or constitutional phenomenon, but a process with wider material and symbolic repercussions.[7]

It should be recognised, though, that this is of necessity rather a general view, and it is important not to forget that the way in which the parish worked differed across the country, whether it be between urban and rural areas, between regions of England, or even between neighbouring parishes. As Tanner notes elsewhere, these differences would depend on 'the interests and abilities of the parishioners and the parish priest', as well as 'the perennial differences between human beings - of age, temperament, condition of life and

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[7] Beat Kümin, 'The Secular Legacy of the Late Medieval Parish', in Clive Burgess & Eamon Duffy (eds), *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, Donington: Shaun Tyas (2006), pp. 95-111, at p. 100.

personal choice'.[8] However, the basic structure of the parish has proved to be a very useful tool in examining medieval community relations, primarily (although not exclusively) in connection with matters of faith and belief. As French notes, '[u]nderstanding how the parish operated refines our understanding of lay piety and Christian orthodoxy in the two centuries before the Reformation'.[9]

It is worth observing that a notable exception to this trend is Caroline Barron, who states in the Introduction to her survey of later medieval London that her focus is on 'what might be termed "public" London, that is, those areas which were of concern either to the king, or to the citizens communally, or, very often, to both', and that she will not really 'consider the role played by religion in animating a parish structure and providing … a notable series of charitable acts and attitudes of wide civic significance.'[10] It may well be the case that from a structural perspective the individual parish was of more significance in rural areas and smaller towns than it might have been in a city the size of London;[11]

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[8] Norman Tanner, 'Piety in the Later Middle Ages in England', in Tanner, *The Ages of Faith*, pp. 135-52, at p. 147. (This chapter was originally published as chapter 4 in Sheridan Gilley and WJ Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, Oxford: Blackwell (1994); see Tanner, *The Ages of Faith*, p. 217.)

[9] French, *The People of the Parish*, p. 2.

[10] Caroline M Barron, *London in the later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2004), p. 1.

[11] Although see Susan Brigden's study of London in relation to the Reformation, where she observes that '[a] shared faith bound the community, and common religious observance marked the rites of passages of the citizens and of their City'. This does not specifically refer to the parish community, but still suggests that there is a commonality of purpose within the community which is based in issues of faith; Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1989), p. 2.

after all, as Paul Strohm notes in his discussion of three walks through medieval London, '[a] short walk down Friday Street traversed three parishes' and the boundaries of two more parishes were 'adjacent to, or touching, Friday Street',[12] and as will be seen in section 4.2 below, the close association of these parishes around Friday Street was typical of medieval London. However, given the weight of other scholarly focus on this area, Barron's decision to omit this aspect from her consideration of London is unusual.

Yet although the civic aspects of the parish structure were important, essentially its function was a religious one. French again provides some helpful thoughts in this respect:

> Medieval theology called specifically for the creation of what we often think of as community. The second great commandment of Jesus, 'you shall love your neighbour as yourself' (Mark 12.31), created the basic moral doctrine of *caritas* - charity, in the broadest sense of the word. Charity required social integration and the creation of continual fraternity.[13]

The concept that spiritual benefits were to be found within the connections of a community is one also promoted by Clive Burgess. In his survey of one particular London parish he notes that 'for the great majority of Christians

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[12] Paul Strohm, 'Three London Itineraries: Aesthetic Purity and the Composing Process', in his *Theory and the Premodern Text (Medieval Cultures volume 26)*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press (2000), pp. 3-19, at p. 6 and p. 217 n. 10. The journey here under discussion by Strohm is that taken by Geoffrey Chaucer, which Chaucer then described in his deposition in the dispute between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor over a coat of arms; see Strohm, 'Three London Itineraries', p. 5.

[13] French, *The People of the Parish*, p. 22.

before the Reformation salvation might most expeditiously be procured as part of a community or group',[14] while in a separate, more general discussion of the subject, he elaborates on this point:

> Against all the stereotypes of Protestant polemic, a spirit of fruitful collaboration as a result of spiritual priorities and conditions seems to have distinguished parish life in the two centuries before the Reformation. A spirit of engagement - of parish with Church as well as with other hierarchies and, intrinsically, of parishioners with parishioners, and of parishioners with clergy - typified late medieval local religious life, eliciting quite remarkable results. This assisted in mobilising sufficient understanding, ambition, means and managerial expertise to change the parish, effecting what may, perhaps, be thought of as a vertical transformation, as lay and sacerdotal collaboration contrived to bring heaven more realistically into parishioners' reach. It is not so surprising that parishioners seem to have been knowledgeable about salvation: collaboration had engineered an environment within many parishes which, so far as was humanly possible, physically engaged with and prefigured the glory that awaited the blessed.[15]

This may seem to be somewhat at odds with Arnold's assertion in his discussion of the acculturation of belief that 'what the Church more commonly

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[14] Clive Burgess, 'London Parishioners in Times of Change: St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c. 1450-1570', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53.1 (2002), 38-63, at p. 47.

[15] Clive Burgess, 'Time and Place: The Late Medieval English Parish in Perspective' in Burgess & Duffy (eds), *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, pp. 1-28, at p. 23. On this point, see also (amongst others) RN Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, Oxford: Blackwell (paperback edition 1993), particularly in chapters 5 and 6; and French, *The People of the Parish*, particularly the Introduction.

wanted from the laity was not a deep knowledge of doctrine but conformity of behaviour', but Arnold also argues that the focus was not so much on knowing (the laity being able to understand doctrine) but instead on doing (making confession, attending Mass, and similar activities):

> The doing was not necessarily a veneer of conformity or empty ritual; it was, rather, belief *as* embodiment and enactment.[16]

There is thus a recognition of the need for joint participation between clergy and laity in the work of the parish community.

Yet despite the recognition of this collaboration, of the two-way working within the parish which seems to have enriched all concerned, the focus in discussions of medieval parish life is often primarily on the laity, at the expense of the clergy and other religious figures such as anchorites. French's survey of parishes in the Diocese of Bath and Wells is explicitly 'almost solely concerned with the laity's perspectives and actions'. She acknowledges that 'the frequent close association of clergy and laity makes it impossible to ignore the clergy', but still determines that 'they will not be a major focus of this study'.[17] While not completely removing the clergy from his assessment of the medieval parish, Duffy too tends to focus more on the involvement of the laity. In his Introduction he states that he will be 'saying almost nothing about the

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[16] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, pp. 39 and 40, emphasis original.

[17] French, *The People of the Parish,* p. 17.

important and widespread influence of the religious orders',[18] although more pertinent to this present discussion is the fact that he also generally omits a consideration of the role of anchorites and hermits within medieval community life. References are made to Julian of Norwich and Richard Rolle, as well as (extremely briefly) to bridge hermits, but no mention is made of the position of the anchorite within the parish.[19] Even RN Swanson's survey provides only a brief consideration of hermits and anchorites, and that occurs within an overview of the different types of religious life in medieval England (lay and clerical),[20] thus suggesting that the place of the anchorhold and the role of the anchorite within the medieval parish is one which scholars have yet completely to address.[21]

This comparative lack of engagement may be due in part to the nature of the reclusive vocation, and the kind of spirituality with which anchorites have come to be associated. As a result, they are often viewed as being completely set apart from the rest of society, called to function on a level which cannot be reached by those 'anonymous masses' (in Tanner's phrase)[22] who do not share

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[18] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 6. This is an omission which David Aers' review of Duffy's book calls 'extremely peculiar'; see David Aers, 'Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*', *Literature and History* 3rd series 3.2 (1994), 90-105, at p. 92.

[19] See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 367-68 for bridge hermits, and pp. 638, 640, and 648 in the Index for other references.

[20] Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 271-74.

[21] Although the proceedings of the International Anchoritic Society's 2014 conference on the theme of 'Medieval Anchorites in their Communities', which are currently being collected for publication, will offer a variety of perspectives on this aspect of anchoritic studies.

[22] See p. 281 above.

their need for seclusion. It may therefore, at first glance, seem incongruous to seek to analyse an anchorite's relationship with the local community, since the very act of enclosure was one which was designed to shut the anchorite away from the outside world (and also, from a different perspective, to shut the world away from the anchorite), so as to allow greater focus on interaction with God. This is despite the fact that the choice of a fixed location for solitude, as opposed to eremitical wandering, in itself seems to imply a degree of need for contact with others.

Even though interaction between the enclosed anchorite and the surrounding community was apparently unavoidable (and indeed such interaction was necessary from a practical point of view in order to ensure the anchorite's survival for longer than a matter of days after enclosure), there was often uncertainty on the part of those undertaking to guide and counsel recluses as to whether or not this interaction was desirable, or even seen as being in line with the anchorite's vocation. Rotha Mary Clay notes, with reference to the tenth-century Rule of Grimlaic, that '[c]ompanionship was permitted, and even encouraged, on the grounds that to live entirely apart from human converse was positively dangerous to the soul',[23] but both Anneke Mulder-Bakker and Mari Hughes-Edwards have shown that there was a tension within the corpus

[23] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, London: Methuen (1914), p. 128; it should be noted that according to Clay, Grimlaic was advocating groups of solitaries living together (if that is not a contradiction), rather than specifically promoting interaction with the local community.

of medieval anchoritic guidance writers as to how to reconcile withdrawal from the community while still remaining part of it. Mulder-Bakker sums up the situation thus:

> Beginning with Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius* (c.1080) and ending with Walter Hilton's late-fourteenth-century *Scale of Perfection*, these guidance writings acknowledge the potential sociability of the recluse, but do not celebrate it. … Indeed, the high-medieval texts, such as *de Institutione Inclusarum* and *Ancrene Wisse*, actively discourage reclusive sociability. Although the later-medieval guides, such as *Speculum Inclusorum*, Rolle's *Form of Living* and Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, demonstrate that it has become increasingly acceptable for the recluse to have social contact, it is by no means shown to be the central interest of these writers, or the *raison d'être* of the vocation.[24]

while Hughes-Edwards' work on the guidance literature shows in detail the contrasting and developing attitudes to social interaction during this period. In the early thirteenth century, for instance, she notes that both the *Ancrene Wisse* and Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* 'discourage contact with religious figures, even the confessor, and seek to limit interaction with the anchorhold's servants', and also 'urge their recluses to cover and avoid their windows as much as possible'.[25] In contrast, a century and a half later, in *The Scale of Perfection* Walter Hilton allows the recluse to 'stop her own activities to attend to

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[24] Anneke B Mulder-Bakker, 'Foreword', in Liz Herbert McAvoy & Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press (2005), pp. 1-5, at p. 3.

[25] Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practice*, University of Wales Press: Cardiff (2012), pp. 45 and 46.

visitors', but qualifies this 'with the commendation of silence as protective strategy, advising that conversations be short and broken off entirely if the caller seeks only to gossip'.[26]

Francis Darwin, who was one of the few people to discuss anchorites in the period between Clay's work at the start of the twentieth century and the revival of interest subsequent to Ann Warren's book in the 1980s, takes as his focus the reclusive nature of hermits and anchorites. He notes that while 'care [was] taken to provide them with adequate attendance - this in the shape of at least one servant to cater for, cook for, and wait upon the Recluse', this provision had its own issues:

> Waited on and cooked for by at least one servant, a Recluse can hardly have known the meaning of real physical solitude from year's end to year's end. The servant problem was, moreover, more or less connected with the whole question of companionship generally - a matter the discussion of which may tend to indicate that, in the vocabulary of our ancestors, the true connotation of the word 'solitude' was to be found in a state of spiritual rather than physical loneliness.[27]

The way of addressing this tension between the need for contact with the outside world (whether mediated through a servant or not), and complete isolation so as better to focus on God, may be to return to the idea of there being

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[26] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 43.

[27] Francis DS Darwin, *The English Mediaeval Recluse*, London: SPCK (1944), p. 12, and pp. 14-15. He then quotes Clay citing Grimlaic (for which see p. 290 and n. 23 above).

a mutually beneficial spiritual exchange to be found within the parish (as mentioned above), and to apply this to the relationship between the anchorite and the parish community.

Indeed, it is clear from both scholarly work over the last century on anchoritism and also from the medieval anchoritic writings as analysed by Hughes-Edwards that, as Michelle Sauer puts it, 'what distinguishes anchoritism *cannot* be complete isolation from the external human community'.[28] Warren notes towards the start of her influential study of this area that '[w]hile the individual in medieval England had the freedom to choose a reclusive life and to pursue a solitary relationship with God, his ability to make that choice was conditioned by its social acceptability', and that an element of this social acceptability was the existence of 'a network of support that enabled the anchorite to exist and persist'.[29] Roberta Gilchrist, although approaching the subject from an archaeological perspective, notes that '[a]nchorholds were an integral element of the ecclesiastical topography of medieval towns',[30] suggesting that the position of an anchorite within the local community had a physical solidity which was as important to relationships within that community as was the spiritual element of the anchorite's vocation.

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[28] Michelle M Sauer, '"Prei for me mi leue suster": The Paradox of the Anchoritic "Community" in Late Medieval England', *Prose Studies* 26.1 (2003), 153-75, at p. 169, emphasis original.

[29] Ann K Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press (1985), p. 15.

[30] Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: the Other Monasticism*, London & New York: Leicester University Press (1995), p. 183.

This is a point raised by many scholars working in this area, although the angle of approach can differ, as it did in the medieval period itself. Hughes-Edwards' examination of the guidance literature shows a development in the attitude to the role and function of the anchorite, from one focussed on prayer for the world which is more effective because the recluse is not part of it (for instance as advocated in the *Ancrene Wisse* and by Aelred), to one whereby social interaction by way of almsgiving, for example, is viewed by Richard Rolle as 'a method of regaining spiritual purity'.[31] More generally, Warren states that '[a]nchorites could and did serve many purposes within their communities beyond the purely intercessory one that was their raison d'être',[32] while EA Jones enlarges on the position and placing of anchorites in relation to the way in which their roles were perceived:

> Hermits and anchorites were also liminal figures, positioned on the physical and symbolic margins of communities, and as such could exercise vital functions (such as the resolution of disputes) that could not be successfully performed either by complete outsiders or by those enmeshed in the many networks of relationships within a society.[33]

Both Warren and Jones immediately follow their respective observations with reference to work by Henry Mayr-Harting on Wulfric of Haselbury, a twelfth-

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[31] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 47, and see also p. 42.

[32] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 110.

[33] EA Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits in Historical Context', in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, & Roger Ellis (eds), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, Cambridge: DS Brewer (2005), pp. 3-18, at p. 17.

century anchorite who somehow combined his enclosure with acting as 'an arbitrator, a healer, a prophet, a dispenser of poor relief, perhaps even a primitive banker'.[34] Hughes-Edwards also refers to Mayr-Harting's study of Wulfric, and quotes his observation that '[a]nyone living in twelfth-century England would very probably … have had contact with a recluse'.[35] The recognition of the widespread presence of recluses within communities in medieval England and the importance of that presence to those communities, thus makes the omission of any consideration of hermits and anchorites by scholars such as Duffy, Swanson, and French more noticeable.

This being the case, then, although addressing a more specific idea of location than does Gilchrist (for instance), Clay suggests that the hope of there being benefits to all parties was a reason for anchorites being placed where they were: '[e]nclosed persons were usually attached to some church in order that they might derive spiritual advantages from it, and at the same time confer spiritual benefits upon the parish'.[36] Among those building upon Clay's work, Liz Herbert McAvoy comes to a similar conclusion:

> It would seem, then, that the medieval anchorhold and its inhabitant constituted a complex place and space which combined to form an equally complex rhetorical statement for both church and the surrounding community; and, moreover, it

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[34] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 110, referring to Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975), 337-52.

[35] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 6 and p. 113 n. 31.

[36] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 73.

> was a statement upon which much of that church and community's spiritual *raison d'etre* was dependent.[37]

That anchorites could benefit from this interaction as much as could the community around them is summed up well by Valerie Edden:

> Mystics and anchorites lived apart from the world, in many ways cut off from the communities around them. They may properly be considered as part of an ancient eremitic tradition … Nonetheless [they] are to be understood not only in relation to this tradition but as responding to their local context: the spiritual life of the Christian communities into which they were born.[38]

It is this response by each individual anchorite to the particular circumstances of the community in which he or she is enclosed which - in part - makes study of this particular form of medieval religious vocation so engaging. Furthermore, although Symon Appulby does not fall within the purview of Hughes-Edwards' study of anchoritic guides, her observation on the result of the advice contained in the later guides is as applicable to Symon's role in his community as it is to those of the female recluses to whom Hughes-Edwards refers:

> [Rolle and Hilton] construct a later medieval recluse who can potentially disseminate anchoritic ideology and contemplative theology into the surrounding community.[39]

To be in a position, both physically and sociologically, to 'disseminate …

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[37] Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press (2008), Introduction p. 7.

[38] Valerie Edden, 'The Devotional Life of the Laity in the Late Middle Ages', in Dyas, Edden, & Ellis (eds), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, pp. 35-49, at p. 49.

[39] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 48.

ideology and … theology' to those around them, anchorites - whether individually or in succession - needs must have had relationships with their communities which had a degree of permanence. Although this was doubtless also achieved in rural settings, the ways in which religious solitaries made their presences felt in urban areas is of particular interest in this present study. As will be discussed in the next section, in many respects the relationship between London and its anchorites can be said to have culminated in Symon Appulby at All Hallows London Wall.

4.2 Anchorites, cities, and (London) walls[40]

The previous section has shown that in general, and certainly in the later medieval period, the interaction between an anchorite and the surrounding community, especially within the parish, was felt to be of benefit to both parties, and that the physical connection between anchorhold and church (usually, although not always, a parish church) was a valued way of rooting a particular anchorite to a particular community at a particular time. The specific connection between the parish of All Hallows London Wall and the succession of anchorites enclosed there (the last of whom was Symon Appulby) will be examined in the next section of this chapter, but before the focus is thus narrowed, this section will consider the peculiar relationship between anchorites and towns or cities, particularly London, especially with regard to the location of anchorholds within such conurbations.

Urban anchoritism itself is something of a contradiction, since anyone seeking solitude for a life of prayer would not be thought likely to find it in the midst of a busy medieval town. Indeed, as Ann Warren observes, in the earlier medieval period rural anchoritic locations markedly outnumbered those in towns and cities, and although the ratio did not turn in favour of urban locations until the sixteenth century, '[c]ities and larger towns … took a substantial portion of the

[40] Much of the material in this section regarding London, and some of the material on Norwich, was first presented in a paper entitled '"a certain tourelle on London Wall … was granted … for him to inhabit the same": London Anchorites and the City Wall', at the Conference of the International Anchoritic Society at the University of North Dakota, 16-18 September 2011.

anchoritic population [in the thirteenth century] … [a] pattern [which] continued in the fourteenth century and became sharper in the fifteenth.'[41] While this trend might be considered to be a natural and logical result of the growth of English society during this period, though, it did not happen without comment and objection. Looking back from a twentieth century viewpoint, Warren makes the reasonable point that in towns '[t]here were more people to provide alms than in the countryside, the friars became involved with the recluses, and the merchant class was sympathetic to their needs.'[42] However, Mari Hughes-Edwards notes that there was a very real contemporary concern about the effect which exposure to the urban environment could have on the anchorite; she describes how both the mid-fourteenth century Latin text *Speculum inclusorum* and its English translation of a century later, *Myrour of Recluses*,

> construct a new kind of recluse: the urban degenerate. … This is part of a wider later medieval rhetorical tendency to construct urbanization as a vice. If, ideologically, the anchorhold has moved into the corrupt urban world, then, this later medieval guide and its translation suggest, rhetorically speaking, that the corrupt urban world has moved into the anchorhold.[43]

Yet despite this concern, the urban anchorite was to become a significant part of certain English towns and cities, often in locations which were inextricably part of the fabric of those places.

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[41] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 37, and see also her Table 2 on p. 38.

[42] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 39.

[43] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 51.

Keith Lilley has argued that 'Christianity is fundamentally an urban religion, the city having a prominent place not just in its history, doctrine and beliefs, but in its organization, practice and worship'.[44] He posits that medieval towns and cities, particularly although not exclusively those planned and built during the Middle Ages, were both constructed and inhabited with a recognition of a 'cosmological symbolism'[45] which was reflected in attitudes to the physical layout of a city as well as to its governance. In essence, Lilley's view is that

> [f]or those who conceived, built and inhabited [medieval Europe's] towns and cities - those who described them and depicted them, who created them and lived in them - the city was a special place, for it was a model of the world that was to come, a city of God.[46]

The archetypal city of God was, of course, Jerusalem, whether the actual earthly city or the heavenly version as described in Revelation 21. Lilley notes that medieval descriptions of cities sought to make connections with the greatest city of all, and that often those connections were made by reference to walls and gates. In relation to depictions of Jerusalem, he quotes JJG Alexander's observation that 'in many representations of Jerusalem all that is required are

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[44] Keith D Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form*, London: Reaktion Books (2009), p. 186.

[45] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, p. 12 and elsewhere.

[46] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, p. 185.

walls … surrounding buildings to signify [the] "city"',[47] and in a subsequent discussion of a late twelfth-century description of Chester and an early fourteenth-century depiction of Padua Lilley notes that '[i]n both cases features in the urban landscape were understood symbolically through the connotations they had, particularly their walls and gates'.[48] Although Lilley does not consider London's wall in this way, nonetheless this structure clearly had an importance and significance to it, as will be seen later in this section, and Lilley's work may help in understanding some of the wider reasons for that importance.

One of the peculiarities of medieval parish distribution is that certain localities appear to have had what could be described as more than their fair share of churches. For example, in their overview of Bristol from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation, Peter Fleming and Kieran Costello note that

> Bristol had eighteen parish churches. By modern standards this seems an enormous number for a population of around 10,000, but Bristol was actually underprovided when compared to the number of parish churches in such comparable cities as York and Norwich.[49]

The comparative over-provision of parish churches in Norwich is discussed in

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[47] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, p. 20 (square brackets original), quoting JJG Alexander, '"Jerusalem the Golden": Image and Myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe', in Bianca Kühnel (ed), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art/ Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1998), pp. 254-64, at p. 264.

[48] Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, p. 27.

[49] Peter Fleming & Kieran Costello, *Discovering Cabot's Bristol: Life in the Medieval and Tudor Town*, Tiverton: Redcliffe Press (1998), p. 45.

surveys and studies such as that by Norman Tanner in the mid 1980s and the essays in the more recent volume edited by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson. For instance, Jonathan Finch states that '[b]y the mid thirteenth century … the number of churches and chapels had reached a peak at around sixty',[50] although this figure drops towards the end of the period, as Tanner observes that '[t]here were at least - and probably exactly - forty-six parish churches in the city in the 1520s'.[51] This reduction can be explained by the dramatic drop in Norwich's population (as elsewhere in the country) in the mid-fourteenth century due to the effects of the Black Death; Rawcliffe suggests that the city's population was 'as high, perhaps, as 25,000 by the early 1330s', but that the depredations of the Black Death meant that '[a]t a generous estimate, the population cannot have exceeded 8,000 in 1377, and hovered around 11,000 … by the 1520s'.[52]

Yet it is important to note that although Norwich was 'probably exceeded in the number of its parish churches only by London which had slightly more than twice as many churches for five or six times as many people', according to Tanner,[53] the number of hermits and anchorites in Norwich outstripped that of London. In his work to continue Rotha Mary Clay's survey, EA Jones notes that

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[50] Jonathan Finch, 'The Churches', in Carole Rawcliffe & Richard Wilson (eds), *Medieval Norwich*, London: Hambledon & London (2004), pp. 49-72, at p. 58.

[51] Norman Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (1984), p. 2. Finch agrees with this number.

[52] Carole Rawcliffe, 'Introduction', in Rawcliffe & Wilson (eds), *Medieval Norwich*, pp. xix-xxxvii, at p. xxxiv.

[53] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 2.

Clay 'found more hermits and anchorites [in Norwich] than for any other English town (including London)',[54] an observation which is reinforced by Tanner's statement that 'more hermits and anchorites are known to have lived in Norwich, between 1370 and the Reformation, than in any other town in England'.[55] As a result, it is possible that during the Middle Ages, a higher proportion of the inhabitants of Norwich's parishes had some form of contact or involvement with a recluse (contradictory though that may be) than did London's parishioners. After all, as Tanner notes, '[t]he parish appears to have remained the primary context within which most citizens of late medieval Norwich practised their religion'.[56]

The parochial context of the practising of religion was not unique to Norwich, of course, but in terms of the present study, and particularly the consideration of the relationships between parishes and anchorholds, there is a significant difference between Norwich and London in regard to the positioning of anchorholds and hermitages in relation to the city walls. In common with many other medieval towns and cities (such as Bristol, Winchester, and Chester), both Norwich and London were bounded by walls, although the ways in which each

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[54] EA Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits', p. 10; the section on Norfolk in Appendix C of Clay's *Hermits and Anchorites* (pp. 232-37) lists thirty-three entries for Norwich.

[55] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 58, although he does concede that '[t]here were many more recluses in London than in Norwich before 1370' (n. 7 on p. 59), citing Clay's survey and (although not by name) Miss M Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', in William Page (ed), *A History of London vol 1 (Victoria History of the Counties of England series)*, pp. 585-88.

[56] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 17.

became a walled urban centre were very different. A first glance at outline maps of medieval Norwich, such as those accompanying Tanner's work on the town,[57] shows the parish churches and religious communities clustered within the walls in a significant concentration (with the exception of Carrow Nunnery, located outside the wall to the south-east of the town). This would suggest that the reason for the concentration was the enclosing and restricting presence of the wall, forcing the worshipping community of Norwich into a defined space, yet it becomes apparent on delving further into the town's history that the wall was almost something of an afterthought. Brian Ayers notes that in this case '[t]he walled city … was a late medieval result of a combination of urban developments over a period of half a millennium',[58] and although the 'full medieval complement of over sixty parish churches'[59] had probably been reached by the end of the twelfth century, thus fixing their locations, the walls were not completed until the 1340s. Even then, Ayers observes,

> [a]lthough large, the walled area was still insufficiently broad to enclose all existing settled areas: Heigham to the west was omitted, becoming a suburb by default rather than by design.[60]

In this respect, London therefore had more in common with somewhere like Chester, where the city walls and defences in place in the medieval period were a combination of Roman work and later efforts which had been established

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[57] See for instance Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, map 1 on p. xii, or Tanner, *The Ages of Faith*, p. 59.

[58] Brian Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', in Rawcliffe & Wilson, (eds), *Medieval Norwich*, pp. 1-28, at p. 2.

[59] Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', p. 19.

[60] Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', pp. 2-3.

within a century or so of the Norman Conquest. As AT Thacker notes, in the context of Chester,

> [b]y the late 12th century the basic outlines of the medieval city were established. The defences which surround Chester had reached their full extent.[61]

Throughout this study, reference in this context to London should be understood as referring to the area covered by the present-day City of London, rather than the more general understanding of London as comprising that area plus the City of Westminster and the various other boroughs combined. Historically, the City of London equates more-or-less to the area populated by the Romans on the north bank of the river Thames as Londinium. As this settlement grew, it came to be bounded by a fortified wall, which was built between the second and fourth centuries. The wall then survived the departure of the Roman authorities in the early fifth century, and the decline of Londinium over the next few hundred years in favour of newer settlements a couple of miles upstream, around what came to be the City of Westminster and the present-day West End.[62] However, not least because of the Alfredian

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[61] AT Thacker (with contributions from AP Baggs and JD Herson), 'Topography, 900-1914', in CP Lewis and AT Thacker (eds), *History of the County of Chester (Victoria County Histories)* volume V part 1, London: Institute of Historical Research/Boydell & Brewer (2003), pp. 206-38, at p. 208.

[62] On the location of the post-Roman/pre-Alfredian settlement of Lundenwic, see Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A new audit*, London: Bristol Classical Press/Bloomsbury Academic (2012), p. 114. In addition, Simon Keynes notes that 'London *within* the Roman walls can never, of course, have been wholly deserted in the period before 886; bishops presumably remained at St Paul's' (Simon Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in Mark AS Blackburn & David N Dumville (eds), *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press (1998), pp. 1-45, at p. 24 n. 106, emphasis original).

'restoration' of London in the late ninth century,[63] enough of the wall was still standing at the time of the Norman Conquest for the eastern end of it to be a logical place for William I to build the Tower, and from there to rebuild London's status as England's capital city, reclaiming this title from Winchester.

In this process, the wall was redeveloped and strengthened by William I's successors, thus playing a significant role, as Caroline Barron notes:

> Until the population explosion rendered the wall of London redundant, it was an extremely important element in the city's topography. There were three miles of it to be kept in repair. The responsibility for this lay jointly with the citizens and the king. In the east Edward I enlarged and strengthened the Tower of London in the years 1275-85, not to protect the city from riverborne attack but, rather, to tighten his grip on London itself.[64]

Providing access to London through the wall were six main gates, 'all of them ancient and probably Roman', as Barron observes:[65] Ludgate, Newgate, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Aldgate (from west to east). There were also a few smaller postern gates, including Moorgate, although Barron notes that this was

> never an important gate in the medieval period and no roads led to or away from it. It was probably simply an enlarged

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[63] Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', pp. 23-24. The use of quotation marks in referring to the 'restoration' of London is original.

[64] Barron, *London in the later Middle Ages*, p. 242.

[65] Barron, *London in the later Middle Ages*, p. 244.

> pedestrian gate created out of one of the twenty or so small turrets that studded London's wall between the gates.[66]

Given the significance and weight of the wall (physical, political, and - as Lilley suggests - spiritual), it is not surprising that many of the churches within its bounds came to be identified by their relation to it or to one of its gates, for example St Botolph Aldersgate, St Giles Cripplegate, St Martin Ludgate, and All Hallows London Wall (sometimes known as All Hallows on the Wall or All Hallows by the Wall, and which is located between Bishopsgate and Moorgate). In this respect, of course, London was far from unique; Derek Keene's survey of medieval Winchester, for example, lists nine churches with appellations related to the wall, the ditch, or the gates, including both St Martin in the Ditch and St Martin next to the Wall, St Mary outside West Gate, and St Swithun over King's Gate.[67]

In her Introduction to the reconstructed *Map of Tudor London 1520*, Barron notes that by that date 'there were over 100 parishes in the city - often comprising only a few streets - and almost all established by the twelfth century'.[68] Over the five centuries since the time of the City depicted by that map, though, the sustained German bombing in the Second World War, the Great Fire of 1666,

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[66] Barron, *London in the later Middle Ages*, p. 246; these turrets were surviving elements of the Roman wall.

[67] Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester Part I*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1985), Table 1 pp. 134-35; the map of Winchester which follows this table, Figure 8 on p. 136, shows another six churches located close to the wall but not described as such in their names.

[68] Caroline Barron, 'Introduction' to *Map of Tudor London about 1520*, Historic Towns Trust (revised edition 2013).

and (less combustively but no less effectively) the Reformation have all had the effect of vastly reducing the number of churches in the City, so that only around forty churches or parts of churches remain to the present day (allowing for those few which have a post-medieval foundation). Yet evidence of their former presence survives in the official names of the remaining parishes; for example, the full name of the parish represented by the church of St Mary-le-Bow, located on Cheapside, is that of St Mary-le-Bow with St Pancras Soper Lane, All Hallows Honey Lane, All Hallows Bread Street, St John the Evangelist Watling Street, St Augustine with St Faith under St Paul's and St Mildred Bread Street with St Margaret Moyses.[69] Not only have all of these churches except St Mary's now vanished, and their associated parishes been subsumed into a single entity, but several of the streets from which they took their appellations have also been lost.

Taking into account the difference in reasons for the construction of their respective walls, then, the situation in London as described thus far appears very similar to that of Norwich, where there was a significant community of prayer and devotion formed by those who were in a sense enclosed twice, initially by the vows taken when committing to the anchoritic life, and subsequently by the wall surrounding them and all others within its bounds. The difference between London and Norwich, however, is that in London more

[69] *The Diocese of London Year Book 2013*, London: Diocese of London (2012), p. 22. It could be argued that one reason for such survival is due to the fact that the Church of England is not an organisation willing to believe that something does not exist merely because it cannot be seen.

anchorholds and hermitages appear to have been located on or in very close proximity to the enclosing city wall, or in some other way on the boundary of the City, thus placing those occupying them on the very edges of the community based within the wall. Of course, Norwich's wall and gates were not completely devoid of a reclusive presence; Tanner mentions hermits at St Stephen's Gate, St Giles Gate, Bishopsgate, and Berstreet Gate, which agrees with Clay's list (although she also includes a hermit at Magdalen gate),[70] but this is a very small proportion of the overall total. Yet even this is more than were present in either Bristol or Winchester, to take two other walled towns as examples. Fleming and Costello note that at least two churches in the former town, St John the Baptist, also known as St John-on-the-Wall, and St Lawrence, were 'built along the length of the town wall and incorporated a gateway'.[71] However, the entries in Clay's survey for Bristol mention neither of these churches as having supported anchorites or hermits, and none of the six locations for recluses which she gives in Bristol appear to be in close proximity to the walls or gates.[72]

Similarly, despite having a large number of churches on or near its encircling wall, Winchester appears to have had very little by way of an anchoritic presence. Clay's survey lists only one such location within the city, St Aedred's,

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[70] Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 62; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 234-35.

[71] Fleming & Costello, *Discovering Cabot's Bristol*, p. 73; indeed, they also note that these two churches 'shared the tower over St John's Gate', p. 74.

[72] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 216-17 (Gloucestershire).

home of a twelfth-century anchorite, and while Warren refers to this individual and also to a later anchoress, she is not specific as to where the latter may have been enclosed.[73] Even in Chester, where the wall had been a significant part of the development of the town, it seems to have had little impact on the choice of location for anchorholds; Warren mentions three anchorholds in Chester without identifying where these were sited, and although Clay's survey refers to a couple of bridge hermits in this area, the only churches or chapels which are listed are not ones related to the wall.[74] It would therefore appear that the location of so many of the hermits and anchorites of London on or near the city wall was not necessarily reflective of circumstances elsewhere in England during this period.

In the entry for Middlesex in Appendix C of her survey (Middlesex being the administrative county which in the early twentieth century covered what is mostly now classified as Greater London), Clay identifies twenty-one places which are described as being in 'London', by which is meant (as mentioned above) the City of London, since the various other boroughs and the City of Westminster are identified separately in her survey.[75] On further examination, two of these references can be discounted as they refer to the locations where

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[73] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 218-19 (Hampshire); Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, pp. 140 and 204. In her discussion of urban anchoritism, Warren mentions that seven sites were known of in Winchester in the thirteenth century (p. 39), but her source for this is not clear; it cannot be Clay's survey.

[74] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 39; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 208-9 (Cheshire).

[75] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 228-31.

Symon Appulby and Margerie Clyute respectively were professed as anchorites rather than the locations where they lived after their profession, and in any case Clay's own later work connects the apparently location-less Symon Appulby with the Symon who inhabited the anchorhold at All Hallows London Wall, which is listed separately. Of the remaining nineteen entries, then, ten are definitely on the edge of the City as bounded by the wall, one could be ('by St Bartholomew's hosp.'), and one is outside the area of the Roman wall but is on the edge of the City boundary as it was delineated by the Middle Ages (St Clement Danes 'without Temple Bar').[76]

It can therefore be seen that throughout the period surveyed by Clay, at least half of the City of London's recorded hermits and anchorites occupied sites on the physical edge of the community, and indeed in noting that there were 'cells for anchorites at Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Temple Bar, and at Allhallows in the city walls; there was a hermit at Aldgate, and an anchorite in the Tower', Jones appears to be particularly aware of those who were placed around the periphery of London.[77] One possible reason for this apparent preference by recluses for a literally liminal position could be merely the easy availability of building materials, since the Roman wall remained a distinctly solid presence into the sixteenth century (compared with the few remnants which are now left above ground). However, even though the occupants of these cells were on the

[76] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites,* p. 230.

[77] Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits', p. 10.

edge of the community, they still functioned as part of that community in ways discussed in the previous section, so the longevity of some of the cells around the London wall cannot be explained solely by convenience of construction. As Jones points out,

> anchorites hardly ever appear as an imposition on a community from outside; the situation of cells, abutting the naves of parish churches or town walls, and the testamentary and eleemosynary support forthcoming from all levels of society, offer ample evidence for local communities' investment (financial and ideological) in the people whom, the evidence suggests, they regarded as 'their' anchorites.[78]

It is worth reiterating that it is not only the positioning of so many of London's anchorholds close to the wall which is here being considered, since this is not an unresearched area, but also the length of time for which these anchorholds *in toto* were occupied. Many of the sources used by Clay in Appendix C are the same as those used by the compilers of the volume on London in the Victoria County History of England series, under the editorship of William Page, which was published five years before Clay's survey. That volume ends with the article by Miss M Reddan on 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London' which has been discussed previously in this thesis,[79] and collating the information provided by both Reddan and Clay shows that at almost any given point between 1199 and 1537 there was an anchoritic or eremitic presence somewhere on the edge of the City of London.

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[78] Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits', p. 17.

[79] See particularly section 1.4 above.

At the eastern end of the wall, the Tower of London and its immediate environs seem to have provided at least four locations for recluses over a period of about 150 years in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A site dedicated to St Eustace, which is variously described as a chapel or hermitage and which was apparently sited behind the chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the grounds of the Tower, was inhabited between at least 1236 and 1371, while a neighbouring anchorhold, the Swans-nest (near St Katharine's Hospital), was occupied in 1371 and again in 1380.[80] Another nearby cell, described by Reddan as being 'in the turret of the wall near Aldgate' and by Clay as being dedicated to St Mary and St Nicholas, was inhabited by at least three hermits from 1257 (identified by Clay as John, Berengar, and John le Megre respectively), although Reddan notes that it was no longer occupied by 1325.[81]

Moving anticlockwise from east to west along the line of the wall, anchorites and hermits were recorded at Bishopsgate from 1342, with John de Warwyk being replaced by Robert by 1346. Again there were various locations in this area and exact identification is difficult, but unlike in the case of the Tower occupation here continued into the fifteenth century, as Clay lists an anonymous anchorite 'in wall beside Bishopsgate' in 1415 and the presence of Dame Joan at

[80] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230, where the anchorite in the Swans-nest in 1371 is identified as 'Sir Robert', and Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 587, where this location is described as 'the abode of John Ingram' for both years mentioned.

[81] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 587, and Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230-31.

St Botolph without Bishopsgate in 1449, while Reddan refers to a 'woman recluse' at Bishopsgate in 1426.[82] There is therefore just over a century of certain occupation in this part of the City boundary, overlapping with that at the Tower and extending the overall timeframe to over two hundred years. Indeed, it may extend further than that, since in her discussion of royal patronage of anchorites Warren notes that '[t]he cell at St Botolph's remained active' deep into Henry VIII's reign, although she cites neither names of recluses nor dates of occupation.[83]

At the western edge of the medieval City (although, as noted earlier, beyond the bounds of the Roman wall), the anchoritic presence in the Temple Bar area was of shorter duration, or at least was not as sustained. Clay and Reddan both refer to a Dame Joan at St Clement Danes in 1426,[84] and Reddan notes elsewhere that '[a] certain William "le Ermite" or "le Heremite" disposed of property in the parish of St Clement Danes in 1265-6 and 1268-9', although she adds the caveat that 'his hermitage, of course, was not necessarily in that neighbourhood'.[85] While these details do not extend the overall timeframe, they do show evidence of anchorites and hermits to the west of the City at the same time as those in the east, thus ensuring that the community within was

[82] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230-31, and Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 585; Reddan suggests that the anonymous woman occupied the same cell as that granted to John de Warwyk by Edward III in 1342.

[83] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 185.

[84] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230-31, and Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 588.

[85] Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', pp. 586-87.

framed by prayer if not always completely enclosed by it.

The locations which do significantly extend the period of time covered by the anchoritic presence around the edge of the City, though, are Cripplegate and All Hallows London Wall. Of all the sites mentioned by both Clay and Reddan, St James Cripplegate (which now no longer exists) was the most populated, or at least the location for which most names are known. Reddan lists seven occupants, and Clay thirteen, in a period from around 1199 to 1341, while in addition an unnamed anchorite is recorded at St Giles Cripplegate in 1361. Some of the hermits at St James lasted longer than others; Reddan notes that Robert de St Laurence was 'appointed by Henry III' (so before 1272) and died in 1291, while in contrast John de Flytwyk was appointed in 1341 but resigned the same year.[86] This was therefore clearly a significant site, not least because according to Clay's survey it was the earliest of these identified anchoritic or eremitic sites in the City. St James Cripplegate therefore extends the earlier part of the timeframe so that London's encircling anchoritic presence began at the end of the twelfth century and extended for at least 250 years.

The timeline is then completed by All Hallows London Wall, where an anchoritic presence is recorded with certainty from around the time that other

[86] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230-31, and Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', p. 586.

locations start to fall out of use, and possibly from before that time.[87] Clay lists a unnamed anchoress in occupation in the fifteenth century, and then William Lucas and Symon, while Reddan mentions the first two but instead locates Symon Appulby in either the cell near Aldgate or in the priory of Holy Trinity in which he had made his profession.[88] However, as discussed in section 1.4 above, Charles Welch suggests that there may have been an earlier anchorite on the site, referring to a grant made in 1314 of 'a certain tourelle on London Wall, near Bishopsgate, ... to Sir John de Elyngham, Chaplain, for him to inhabit the same'.[89] Although this reference does not appear in either Reddan or Clay, if this identification with All Hallows is correct then association of the church with anchorites definitely overlapped with that of other locations, even if not continuously, thus further reinforcing the ring of prayer surrounding the City. It is worth noting that in George Hennessy's historical list of clergy in the Diocese of London the first mention of an incumbent at All Hallows is in 1335, suggesting that the parish was not established until then,[90] but even if Welch is mistaken in locating an anchorite in this place earlier in the fourteenth century, the presence of Symon Appulby into the fourth decade of the sixteenth century

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[87] See section 1.4 above, particularly pp. 72-74.

[88] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 228-29, and Reddan, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of London', pp. 588 and 587.

[89] Charles Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Allhallows, London Wall, in the City of London. 33 Henry VI to 27 Henry VIII (AD 1455 - AD 1536) to which is added a facsimile of 'The Fruyte of Redempcyon' by Symon the Anker of London Wall*, London: privately printed (1912), pp. xxviii-xxix; see also p. 73 above (in section 1.4). This 'tourelle' was likely to have been one of the Roman turrets referred to by Barron (see n. 66 on p. 307 above).

[90] George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense; or London Diocesan Clergy Succession from the Earliest Time to the Year 1858*, London: Swan Sonnenschein (1898), pp. 82-83.

means that the City of London was provided with an additional enclosing wall, of supplication rather than of stone, for the better part of 350 years.

The essential liminality of hermits and anchorites, wherever they were physically located, has of course been recognised by many scholars, and this aspect of the tension between being solitary and being part of a community is summed up by Jones in his observation that by being

> positioned on the physical and symbolic margins of communities … [they] could exercise vital functions (such as the resolution of disputes) that could not be successfully performed either by complete outsiders or by those enmeshed in the many networks of relationships within a society.[91]

However, this present examination argues that in the case of London what is important is the longevity of the enclosing ring of prayer formed by the presence of hermits and anchorites on the edge of the City. It may also be that the liminal identity of those in this position was retained, even as the community which was bounded (and to some extent defined) by the wall expanded over time.

Alison Clark's work on hermits in Siena shows how the protection afforded to these individuals by the city walls was expanded as the city itself grew, bringing those who had previously been on the physical edge of society more into the fabric of the community. She writes that

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[91] Jones, 'Anchorites and Hermits', p. 17

> the mapping of the eremitic space on the urban landscape of Siena reveals the arm of the commune at work as it gradually incorporated the urban periphery - the dwelling sites of the hermits - within the protective enclosure of the city's walls physically and metaphorically.[92]

Similarly in London, the space occupied by those who considered themselves to be Londoners grew beyond the enclosing presence of the anchorites, so that what had once been the clear edge became more blurred (although significantly in this case the wall remained where it had always been, even after it ceased to enclose all who sought the protection offered by London as an entity). However, while Siena's hermits appear to have lost their liminality as the community enfolded them, London's anchorites remained on the edge even as the community expanded beyond them. Although Lilley's work on the corporeal understanding of those involved in urban governance and religious practice does not touch on anchorites, it is possible to apply his approach here, and suggest that since to an extent a city is distinguished and defined by its boundaries, as London's physical boundaries became more fluid the role of providing the spiritual delineation of the city was taken up by London's recluses.

Jones' observations on the identification of communities with 'their' recluses, even while those communities also recognised the essential otherness of those

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[92] Alison Clark, 'Spaces of Reclusion: Notarial Records of Urban Eremeticism in Medieval Siena', in McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold*, pp. 17-33, at p. 21.

who chose the anchoritic life, have already been mentioned. Evidence of identification in the other direction, from the anchorite aware of his separateness but making connections with the surrounding (and thus enclosing) community, is perhaps rarer, but can be found in *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, a text which, after all, was written by the man who was almost certainly the last in the long line of London's anchorites. In *The Fruyte*, Symon Appulby offers to the worshipping laity of pre-Reformation London a text to help them in their understanding of 'the werke of our redempcyon'.[93] He knows of the need for such devotional texts to be relatively easily accessible, so notes that he has 'compyled this mater in englysshe for your ghostly conforte that vnderstande no latyn',[94] thus showing an awareness of and concern for issues relevant beyond the walls of his cell. Yet the reader is encouraged not to forget those who have different restrictions placed upon them, as Symon asks that those 'vnto whose handes this deuoute lytell treatyse shall come' should 'praye for the Anker of London wall wretched Symon'.[95] Even as he blurs the boundary between the enclosed and those who enclose him, Symon never forgets that the boundary is there.

Whatever may have been the reason for the multiplicity of churches, religious houses, hermitages, and anchorholds in medieval London, the examination in

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[93] *The Fruyte* sig. A2v, line 18.

[94] *The Fruyte* sig. [E4], lines 9-10.

[95] *The Fruyte* sig. [E4], lines 3-4, 6-7.

this section has shown that there was a clear continuity of those choosing the anchoritic and eremitic life and way of prayer in - and very definitely around - the City for a significant length of time. In this, perhaps, is the essential contradiction of the urban anchorite: although seeking to distance himself from the enclosing and encroaching community, he can never forget the existence of that community, and neither can the community forget about those in their midst who in some way bring solitude into the city. In the case of London, amongst all those praying during those centuries, the presence of those who may have prayed harder because of their position on the edge has left its mark.

It is therefore in this context that the contemporary popularity of *The Fruyte* can be assessed. While it is now impossible to know how far and how widely the text circulated, it is likely that a significant number of its readers were Londoners, who would have recognised and appreciated the role of 'the Anker of London wall' even if they themselves had never worshipped at All Hallows or encountered Symon other than through the pages of his book. However, for those of the parish of All Hallows London Wall, the relationship with those who chose enclosure within that community was an important one, although the only traces of this relationship now remaining are the entries in the parish accounts for the period, as examined in the final section of this chapter.

4.3 The accounts and anchorites of All Hallows London Wall[96]

The previous section of this chapter demonstrated, through the example of medieval London, that in spite of the reservations about social interaction between recluses and their surrounding communities as expressed by those providing guidance to such recluses, anchorites were inextricably linked with the fabric of the city and the parishes which formed it. These connections were undoubtedly ones which provided spiritual benefits, but in the case of All Hallows London Wall, as well as considering the effects of Symon Appulby's book it is also possible to trace the more practical ways in which anchorites were associated with an enclosing parish community. This section therefore analyses the parish's accounts, providing a case study for the importance of the connections between anchorites and their local community.

As mentioned in the opening section of this chapter, the examination of churchwardens' accounts is one of the ways in which parish relationships can be considered, and indeed these records are an important source of information for surveys such as that of the Diocese of Bath and Wells by Katherine French,[97] and also Beat Kümin's early work which includes examples from London.[98] However, since these sets of accounts often do not begin until the mid to late

[96] The majority of the material in this section was first presented in a paper entitled '"Item receyvyd of ye Anker": The relationships between a parish and its anchorites as seen through the churchwardens' accounts', at the Conference of the International Anchoritic Society at the University of Wales (Gregynog Hall), 22-24 April 2014.

[97] See pp. 282-83 above, particularly n. 5.

[98] Beat A Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560*, Aldershot: Ashgate (1996).

fifteenth century, at a point when the peak of English medieval anchoritism was passing, the likelihood of accounts surviving from a time and place where anchorites were present is not high. Kümin's study, which includes London but is not focussed exclusively on the city, provides a list of twenty-six London parish churchwardens' accounts, of which less than half (twelve sets) begin in the fifteenth century, and when compared with Clay's list of anchoritic or eremitic locations in London, the only name to appear on both lists is that of All Hallows London Wall.[99]

The All Hallows accounts therefore provide a rare opportunity to view glimpses not only into the everyday life of a medieval parish, but also into how a succession of anchorites contributed towards that everyday life, providing benefits for both sides of the relationship. Although primarily based on Charles Welch's transcription and edition of the accounts, this discussion also draws on Mary Erler's recent work which, *inter alia*, expands on Welch as well as on her own earlier work on All Hallows, with reference to wills and other records.[100] The accounts cover a period of eight decades from 1455 to 1536, during which

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[99] The churches in question are St Mary-at-Hill (1420), St Peter Westcheap (1441), St Nicholas Shambles (1452), St Andrew Hubbard (1454), All Hallows London Wall (1455), St Michael Cornhill (1456), St Botolph Aldersgate (1466), St Martin Orgar (1471), St Stephen Walbrook (1474), St Stephen Coleman Street (1486), All Hallows Staining (1491), and St Dunstan in the East (1494); see Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*, p. 267, which refers to Ronald Hutton, *The rise and fall of merry England: the ritual year 1400-1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1994), pp. 263-93.

[100] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*; Mary C Erler, *Reading and Writing During the Dissolution: Monks, Friars, and Nuns 1530-1558*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2013); and Mary C Erler, 'A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby: His *Fruyte of Redempcyon* and its Milieu', *Viator* 29 (1998), 227-39. The original accounts are now held at the London Metropolitan Archives (reference P69/ALH5/B/003/MS05090/001), but have not been consulted for this research.

time there were at least seven anchorites, and possibly more, enclosed at All Hallows (although only two are named in the accounts).[101] Since the anchoritic presence pre-dates the start of the accounts, it is not unreasonable to presume that by the 1450s the parishioners of All Hallows and the occupants of the anchorhold were (in general terms) used to each others' presence, and that the latter cannot but have had an impact on the former.

However many there may have been, and whoever they were, what all these anchorites had in common was their generosity, and their willingness to get involved in the business of keeping the church and the community running. Welch observes that they 'appear throughout these accounts as liberal donors both to the regular expenses and to the extraordinary necessities of the church',[102] and indeed the contributions of the anchorites towards building and repair work were at times monetarily significant. In 1474 the anchorite (who remains unidentified) contributed 2s 8d to 'ye makyng of ye newe bolles of laton of ye beme', which together with a donation of 2s from a parishioner provided some of the total cost of this work (21s 8d), although the parish had to cover the balance.[103] When repairs to the church fabric were carried out in the

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[101] See section 1.4 above, particularly p. 76 for a reconstructed (although somewhat conjectural) timeline. In addition, it is worth noting that Erler cites wills from 1474 and 1500 which leave bequests to the occupiers (plural) of the All Hallows anchorhold (in both instances monies are specifically left to the anchor and the anchoress of London Wall), suggesting that by the last quarter of the fifteenth century this was a well-established and well-regarded location; see Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 20.

[102] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xxx.

[103] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 14-15.

period from September 1482 to May 1485, the anchorite (who by this stage was William Lucas) gave 3s 4d towards a total of 32s 1d. While not the largest single donation (three parishioners, including both churchwardens, each gave 6s 4d, and another listed only as 'sonyff' gave 5s), this was a notable amount when other donors gave only pennies, and occurred in a period when Lucas also gave 3s 4d for the 'bemelyte' and possibly as much as 3s 8d towards the organ. There is some uncertainty in Welch's transcription regarding the exact amount (possibly because of problems with the legibility of the manuscript), and there is also the possibility that the churchwardens miscounted the total amount contributed; however, it is clear that Lucas' contributions were a not insignificant source of income.[104]

There was therefore a tradition, not to say an expectation, that the anchorite would contribute generously to building and repair work undertaken at All Hallows. By the time the new aisle was built in 1528-29 (at which point, unlike in earlier years, the accounts regularly run from Lady Day to Lady Day over a period of one year from March to March), Symon Appulby was occupying the anchorhold and was as involved financially as were his predecessors. He gave 8s specifically for scaffold poles, and also contributed 32s to the general costs of the building project. Although an entry in the expenditure for this year lists 8s

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[104] Welch, *The Churchwardens' accounts*, pp. 28-29; the transcription in this section reads '...s viijd', although in the Introduction Welch says that 'three contributions of 3s 4d' from Lucas are listed (p. xxx). The total receipts for the work on the organ were apparently 36s 6d, although the rest of the entries actually total 29s 10d, so even if Lucas' contribution was 3s 8d the churchwardens appear to have miscounted by 3s.

being paid back 'to master Ankere In part of paymend of xls', which tallies with the amount of 32s detailed in the list of loans on the previous page, the fact that this same amount is noted against 'Master Ankere' in the 'namys of thame that has gewyne money towards the beldynge of the new yll' suggests that Symon wrote off the debt, turning his original loan into a gift.[105] Unlike William Lucas forty-five years earlier, however, on this occasion Symon was the largest single donor; 'the wyffs' of the parish combined to contribute 52s between them, but Symon's 32s noticeably exceeded the 20s each given by the parson and three others, which were the other notable individual gifts.[106] The support of the anchorite at any given time, therefore, was significant in providing for the parish in times of particular capital need, a conclusion to which Erler also comes, as she notes that '[i]n a poor parish like All Hallows, the anchorite, with his or her extra-parochial supporters from a wider London base, could provide a valuable support to parish income'.[107]

The accounts also show the financial involvement of the All Hallows anchorites as part of the general cycle of the parish. Whether it be 4d in 1460-61 or 20s in 1477-78,[108] the line 'Item receyvyd of ye Anker' appears often enough not to be unusual. In addition, money was received by the church either for or on behalf

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[105] Welch, *The Churchwardens' accounts*, pp. 57-59, also p. xxxiii; Welch seems to regard the 32s in the loan list and the 32s in the gift list as separate transactions.

[106] Welch, *The Churchwardens' accounts*, p. 59; see also p. xiii and p. 56, although in the earlier instance the amount received from 'the goode wyffs of the parysche' was only 40s.

[107] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 33; see also Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 235.

[108] Welch, *The Churchwardens' accounts*, pp. 7, 20.

of the anchorites. Indeed, Erler suggests that the donation of 20s in 1477-78 may have come from William Lucas at the time of his papally-sanctioned absence from the anchorhold on pilgrimage to Rome, and that it was 'intended to replace the support All Hallows would miss while Lucas was away'.[109]

For what was a rather lowly parish, there is evidence of high-profile interest in All Hallows, or at least in its anchorites. Quite early in the records, in 1457-58, the Bishop of London is recorded as having given four marks 'for Ancres'. This large sum[110] is exceeded in that year's receipts only by a legacy of £3, and indeed Welch suggests that the gift distributed by the Bishop was also 'perhaps a legacy or part of a royal or other gift made to the London recluses'.[111] Over two decades later, another high-profile donation is recorded when in 1480 '[a] man of mylady of bokyngham' gave 6s 8d. Although no reference is made to the anchorite in this entry, Welch shows in his Introduction that this agrees with the provision in the will of Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, for that sum to be given to 'the Anker in the Wall beside Bishopsgate, London', who by that date was William Lucas.[112] This gift is also mentioned by Ann Warren, who observes that in providing this legacy the Duchess followed the example of her uncle, Thomas Beaufort, who left a larger amount to the then-inhabitant of the same

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[109] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 21, referring to Rotha Mary Clay, 'Further Studies on Medieval Recluses', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series vol XVI (1953), 74-86, at p. 80 in reference to Lucas' pilgrimage.

[110] Since one mark equalled 160 pennies, four marks totalled £2 13s 4d.

[111] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 4, xxx.

[112] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 22, xxii, xxix.

anchorhold in 1426,[113] although this legacy pre-dated the surviving All Hallows accounts by thirty years.

Less high-ranking persons also gave to or for the anchorites. In the account for June 1488 to March 1490, 26s 8d was received 'ffor the ankyr off doctor Jane', and in the same year that Symon contributed generously towards the building of the new aisle he also passed on 9s 3d, being 'the gyft of dyuersse men & women of ther dewocyon at dyuersse tymys'.[114] Since by this time (1528-29) two of the five editions of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* had been printed, it is possible that - like Julian in Norwich before him - Symon was being sought out from beyond the parish by those who had read his book and who were seeking his wisdom in person, and who were happy to offer something financial in return. Whether or not this was the source of his generosity, it would seem that in contributing to the parish in this way Symon was not alone; as discussed in section 4.1 above, the approach to anchoritic almsgiving changed over the centuries, so that in her discussion of this aspect of the guidance literature, Mari Hughes-Edwards is able to state that 'the later medieval recluse is encouraged to distribute practical aid'.[115]

Support of the parish in practical ways can also be seen in the inventory of

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[113] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, pp. 198, 207

[114] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 36, 56.

[115] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, p. 47.

church goods given at the end of the All Hallows accounts, placed after the entry for 1535-36[116] although compiled earlier. The first fourteen entries detail an inventory taken 'at our lady day' in 1501, while Welch notes that the remaining eight entries 'are written in a later hand'.[117] The first of these later entries records 'Item a chalys gevyn by sir Symon Anker Anno henrici octaui xiij^{o} [ie, 1521-22] wayenge viij vncs'. This is long enough after Symon's profession in 1513 for it to be unlikely to have been something which he brought with him into the anchorhold, so was presumably either something he was given after his enclosure, or an item which he procured for the parish from his own means. (He was not, though, the first anchorite to provide for the church in this way; the earlier part of the inventory lists 'a grett paxe wyth iij Images of sylver by the gyfft off the Anker'.)

As well as being significant contributors to the parish's funds, at least two of the anchorites also played a direct role in administering these funds. Warren makes the general observation that

> [a]nchorholds were an ideal place to store precious goods, money, and papers in an era when there were no banks and few places for the safekeeping of valuables. The sanctity of the reclusory made it a place beyond easy access (the depositor hoped)[118]

and this observation is borne out in the case of All Hallows. In the record for

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[116] See p. 332 below for comments regarding this dating.

[117] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 68.

[118] Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 111.

the period to March 1511, 25s is listed as 'Item Reste In Master Anker hands In Redy money for the chorche', with Welch describing this as showing that the anchorite in occupation at the time was 'acting as the Treasurer of the church'.[119] A generation or two earlier William Lucas also seems to have acted in this way, and although that particular relationship may not have been entirely successful (as will be discussed further below), the parish seems to have had enough confidence in his later successor to trust their anchorite with this responsibility once again.

If the parish coffers of All Hallows benefitted from successive anchorites when they were alive, they could also profit from their deaths, as well as from the deaths of those connected with them. Throughout the eight decades covered by the accounts there are many records of money being received in relation to funerals, but in the context of this present analysis two entries in particular are worth considering. In 1488-90, 3s 4d was received 'ffor ye beriyng off sir jon ye hanckorys pryst'.[120] There is an important implication within this entry not only that whoever occupied the anchorhold at this time had the significance and resources to merit his own priest, but also that there was a pastoral connection strong enough for someone (and the presumption has to be that it was the anchorite himself) to contribute towards the cost of the priest's burial rather than allow the parish to take the full financial strain. This impression is

[119] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 51, xxxii.

[120] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 36.

reinforced, if not enlarged, by an entry some five or so years later, in 1495-96, when the sum of 20d was received 'of maystere Awnkere for berryyng of sir john mother'.[121] In explaining the connection between these two entries, Welch decides that the situation cannot be as straightforward as might be presumed:

> Perhaps Sir John Mother was the Anker whose priest was buried in 1488-90, and in 1495-6 he was himself buried at the expense of his successor. But in this case we should expect to find him described as 'the late anker'. It seems hardly probably that the burial was that of the 'mother' of Sir John.[122]

Since Erler identifies the anchorite who succeeded William Lucas in 1487-88, and who also died during that period, as 'probably a man named Robert Lynton', and in turn his likely successor solely as 'Giles', who was certainly in residence in 1491,[123] it is very unlikely that there was an All Hallows anchorite named John Mother around this time, as that would be indicative of an exceedingly rapid turnover. It is therefore more likely that the 'Sir John' whose burial was recorded in the earlier entry was the anchorite's priest, and that the subsequent entry does indeed mark a payment from the anchorite (possibly Giles?) towards the costs of the priest's mother's funeral in her turn. The evidence so far of the financial involvement of successive anchorites in the life of All Hallows over many decades indicates that this was a community where the occupant of the anchorhold was an integral part of the parish, so Welch's presumption that the anchorite (whoever he was) would not have contributed

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[121] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 40.

[122] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xxxii.

[123] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 23-24; see also section 1.4 above, particularly p. 76.

financially to the funeral costs of those close to him, and of their family members in turn, is erroneous.

When it comes to the costs of funeral arrangements being covered for the anchorites in their turn, though, there is less evidence in the accounts, although what is present again suggests a close connection between anchorite and parish community. In the period from November 1486 to June 1488, the list of receipts includes 3s 4d for ringing the bell at William Lucas' funeral, as well as 6s 8d five entries later for the same office for his short-lived successor (Robert Lynton), and then a further 53s 4d 'of the Executoures of the seid Ancker of sich goodes that he gave to the chyrch'.[124] No doubt this legacy helped to offset the 15s 11d paid in the same year 'in sute of plee agaynst the executours of syr William lukas',[125] a suit which Erler discusses at some length. This involved Lucas lending parish money to a local tailor, which - following a subsequent dispute over a boy apprenticed to the tailor by Lucas - was not repaid in full.[126] If the interpretation offered above of the 'Sir John Mother' incident as referring to the mother of the anchorite's priest is correct, then William Lucas and Robert Lynton would seem to have been the only anchorites of All Hallows to have died in office, at least during the period covered by the accounts, since there are no other references to anchoritic funeral income or expenditure in the accounts.

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[124] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 33-34.

[125] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 35.

[126] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, pp. 21-22.

Indeed, there generally appears to be little discussion, either medieval or modern, of the funeral and burial arrangements made for anchorites, although Clay observes that '[i]n early days it was customary for the cell to become the tomb of its tenant', and later that '[d]uring the fifteenth century it seems to have become usual to bury the hermit in his parish church or in any other cemetery that he willed'.[127] This lack of detail might be because the enclosure rite included a quasi-funerary element so that the anchorite was regarded as already dead once enclosed,[128] although this speculative suggestion is to an extent contradicted by the evidence of Symon Appulby's will. The last mention of Symon in the accounts is in the entry for 1528-29,[129] even though the accounts themselves continue for a few more years after this. Although the exact years for the final set of receipts and payments are not actually stated in Welch's transcription (since the text is presumably illegible in these places due to the condition of the manuscript), these last lists are preceded by three successive declarations by the churchwardens that what are presented are true accounts. Each of these declarations gives identifiable and consecutive regnal years, and the third such declaration is for 'the space of a holle yere' beginning on 'the feste of the Anoncion off owre lady in the xxvj [yere of the reign] of kynge harry

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[127] Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 113, 114.

[128] See, for instance, EA Jones, 'Ceremonies of Enclosure: Rite, Rhetoric and Reality', in McAvoy (ed), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold*, pp. 34-49, particularly pp. 37-42.

[129] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xxxiii.

the viijth'.[130] The conclusion is therefore that the last set of figures relate to the period March 1535 to March 1536.

As mentioned in section 1.4 above, Symon Appulby's will is clearly and unambiguously dated 6 June 1537.[131] It provides details which may or may not have been recorded in the parish accounts had these continued or survived past March 1536, and illustrates the end of the fascinating financial relationship between parish and anchorites over so many decades. Even though his enclosure rite twenty-four years earlier may have included a symbolic burial, Symon stated that on his death his physical remains should 'be buried within the tombe alredy set and made within the ankerage',[132] and he obviously envisaged this as being carried out with some ceremony: provision was made for payment of members of the fraternity of St Augustine Pappey who attended Symon's funeral,[133] as well as payment of 'xiiii children bearyng xiiii tapers' at the funeral, who were to receive 2d each. In addition, Symon's preparation of his grave can be seen not only as fulfilling one of his duties as an anchorite,[134] but also as part of his responsibility to the parish, in undertaking this action and thereby relieving them of the need to do so. He also made provision for his

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[130] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 60, square brackets original.

[131] See pp. 86-88 above.

[132] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 239.

[133] As Erler notes, Symon had been involved with this fraternity even before he was professed to All Hallows; see Erler, 'A London Anchorite', pp. 236-37, and Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 25.

[134] How much this was practised is uncertain, since Warren notes that '[t]he practice of an open sepulchre within the cell' was not spelled out as much in English anchoritic rules as in Continental ones (Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 106 n. 32), and as ever the correlation between theory and practice is difficult to assess.

presumed successor, leaving all his books and vestments to the next occupant of the cell, thus ensuring that the parish was not to be put to the expense of replacing these items.[135]

An awareness of the financial relationship between anchorhold and parish community can also be seen in Symon's bequests of 2s 4d 'unto xiiii pore people dwellyng within the said parish of Alhallowes', and 8s 4d to 'bee expendyd at the tyme of my buriall in bunes, chese and ale to and for the company beyng at my buriall'.[136] In the latter case, Symon appears to have wanted to end his association with All Hallows in a similar way to that in which he began it, although elements of this conclusion are somewhat conjectural (but not entirely unreasonable, given the overall impression which the accounts give of the relationship between parish and anchorites).

Welch notes in his Introduction that the first reference to Symon in the accounts is 'from an undated account early in Henry VIII's reign', when 4s 6d was recorded as being received 'of the ankyr Syr Symon of the gaynes of A stande of ale whiche he gave to the cherche.'[137] As is the case elsewhere, the years are not clear in the transcription of this particular entry (although once again the period covered is from Lady Day to Lady Day), but the previous entry, which is

[135] As discussed in section 1.4 above (see pp. 87-88), Erler and Clay both show that Symon had a reasonable expectation of being succeeded, although his will also recognises the possibility that this may not happen.

[136] Erler, 'A London Anchorite', p. 239.

[137] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. xxxii, 52.

another declaration by the churchwardens, is dated as 'the xxviij^{ti} day of Marche … In the third yere of the Rayne of kyng harry the viij$^{t'}$.[138] Since the date of Symon's profession was late June 1513,[139] it follows that reference to him in the All Hallows accounts as the anchorite cannot be earlier than this. If the undated receipts which include the stand of ale presented to the parish by Symon do indeed cover the period from March 1513 to March 1514, it is therefore extremely tempting to view this gift as Symon's way of making himself welcome within the parish on his arrival.

Whatever may be the interpretations of these references to the beginning and end of Symon Appulby's time as the anchorite of All Hallows London Wall, this examination of the churchwardens' accounts has shown that this particular parish had a long and fruitful relationship with those who chose a solitary and yet paradoxically engaged life. In this, All Hallows was probably not untypical of parishes which hosted anchorites, although similar direct evidence such as that found in these parish accounts has not been encountered elsewhere in the course of this research. However, the development of the approach taken by medieval anchoritic guidance literature with regard to relations with the surrounding and supporting community, as surveyed by Hughes-Edwards and discussed in the first section of this chapter,[140] reinforces Erler's suggestion that

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[138] Welch, *The Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 52.

[139] See pp. 76-78 above.

[140] See particularly p. 290-92 above.

in cases such as that of All Hallows 'an identification of the anchorite as neighbor, rather than as recluse, seems warranted'.[141]

The aspects of the nature of cities - and of London in particular - which made them suitable locations for anchorites, also have important roles to play, as discussed in section 4.2 above. Lilley's work on how cities in general were viewed from a cosmological perspective by those who inhabited and oversaw them thus connects with the concerns of more local communities, resulting in a situation where an anchorite is both part of a city in being enclosed in the fabric of one of its buildings, and not part of a city in being separated by that enclosure from the people who make up the community of the city. The spiritual and financial responsibilities which could be assumed by a parish anchorite precisely because of this dual connection and disconnection in many ways lie at the heart not just of what Erler calls 'the cultural and economic complexity that defined anchoritism',[142] but in the wider and lasting significance of Symon Appulby's contribution to the community of which he was a part. It is impossible to know whether or not he would have written *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* had he not been an anchorite, and thus in contact (while also not being in contact) with lay people eager to develop their understanding of their faith, but his place in the society of early sixteenth-century London surely played an important part in the text's contemporary popularity, and is

[141] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 36.

[142] Erler, *Reading and Writing*, p. 36.

therefore inextricably linked to considerations of its continuing worth.

Conclusion: 'whiche deuoute treatyse I … haue studyously radde and ouerseen'[1]

The picture of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* which has emerged in the course of this study is of a text which was written with a clear purpose in mind, by an author who had confidence both in the material which he used to construct his book and also in the capabilities of those for whom it was intended. The verbal content of *The Fruyte*, provided by Symon Appulby, was then enhanced by the visual contributions of the printers Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Redman, through the use of woodcuts in their editions of the text. In presenting to the reader the combination of a text focussed around the saving Passion of Christ, and images which provided support for the reflections encouraged by the words, *The Fruyte* therefore exemplifies Jennifer Bryan's observation that in the Middle Ages and beyond

> it was Passion meditation above all other exercises that came to be considered the ideal focus of private devotion, … and it was in this context that the visual and self-reflexive imperatives promoted across English devotional discourse were at their strongest. Nowhere were late medieval English readers enjoined to 'behold' more frequently or more searchingly.[2]

The omission of *The Fruyte* from mentions or lists of popular Passion narratives,

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[1] *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* sig. [E4], lines 13-14 (colophon).

[2] Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press (2008), p. 109.

such as that given by Bryan only a few pages after the sentences quoted here,[3] is thus surprising, even if not - as seen in this thesis - entirely unexpected.

One of the aims of this thesis has been to show that study of *The Fruyte* can contribute towards the ever-developing understanding of the richness and complexity of vernacular devotion at the end of the medieval period. In this respect, the nature of the text as an orthodoxly Catholic work, authorised as such by Bishop Richard Fitzjames, can go some way to countering the assertion by 'some scholars', as noted by Bryan, that

> private devotions, especially Christ-centred ones like the Passion meditations … are essentially 'anti-Catholic'; that the emphasis on intimate, vernacular, readerly relationships with Jesus, unmediated by clergymen, paves the way for sixteenth-century reforms.[4]

Of course, how individual readers of the text may have interpreted its meaning in their own hearts, and used it to influence their thinking is a matter for conjecture, although a fruitful avenue for further study in this regard would be a more specialised and detailed examination of the handwritten lines on the last page of the copy of the second edition of the text (*STC* 22558) now held in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, to determine if this is indeed a response to

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[3] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, p. 111, although she does note that this is a 'very partial overview'.

[4] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, p. 32 and p. 214 n. 96, where she cites RN Swanson, 'Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages', in AA MacDonald, HNB Ridderbos, & RM Schlusemann (eds), *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, Groningen: Ebgert Forste (1998), pp. 1-30, and also JT Rhodes, 'The body of Christ in English eucharistic devotion c1500-c1620', in Richard Beadle & AJ Piper (eds), *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of AI Doyle*, Aldershot: Scolar Press (1995), pp. 388-417.

the text by a contemporary reader.

However, Symon's use of his source texts, particularly Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*, suggests a direct and deliberate connection on his part with the traditions of his time, rather than trying to create something entirely new. In this regard, the Bridgettine links and connections would also be worth deeper exploration than has been possible here, not least because the lists and discussions which often omit Symon and *The Fruyte* do tend to include Richard Whitford, whose association with the Bridgettine community at Syon Abbey is often highlighted as being of significance in the publication of his writings. David Loades' assessment of Whitford that '[a]lthough strictly orthodox, he eschewed controversy and became the characteristic voice of the English church during the troubled 1530s',[5] could with some minor amendment also apply to Symon. If the existence of several separate editions of a text are a realistic indication of there being popular demand for it, then *The Fruyte*'s repeated appearances suggest that if not necessarily the voice of the church, it could be regarded as speaking to the people in a voice which they very much wanted to hear. No direct links between Symon and Whitford are yet apparent, but the possibility of connection and influence remains intriguing.

The question remains, though, as to why having been so popular, *The Fruyte*

[5] David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', in Jean-François Gilmont (ed & trans Karin Maag), *The Reformation and the Book*, Aldershot: Ashgate (1998), pp. 264-91, at p. 286.

appears to have faded from view after the mid 1530s. In one respect, the text fits perfectly with Loades' observation that 'Scripture, homiletics and private devotion had by 1540 almost entirely displaced the older style of devotional book based upon familiar rituals or the lives of the saints',[6] since Symon's combination of the *Antidotarius Animae*, the *Revelations*, and his own writing, presents both Biblical material and devotional reflection in a structure which is not based on the liturgical hours but which instead allows for reading at an individual pace. In particular, the chapters which focus on Christ's Seven Last Words from the Cross display a sophistication which suggests that as an author, Symon had confidence in the ability of the English-reading laity of the early sixteenth century to incorporate such material into their personal devotions without the need for detailed direction and guidance as they did so. In addition, the way in which the reader is encouraged to participate in the text by reciting prayers at the ends of the chapters which are only indicated rather than written out in full ('Pater noster. Aue maria') means that while on the one hand the experience of *The Fruyte* is available to many because it has been printed, it is still an individual experience since each reader will approach these prayers in his or her own way.

Similarly, the interaction between the reader and the woodcuts allows for an increasingly personalised approach to devotional reading. Edward Hodnett's

[6] Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation', p. 287.

assessment of the text as marking an important change in direction as regards Wynkyn de Worde's approach to illustrating the devotional books which he produced has been borne out in the consideration in this study of the connections to be made between *The Fruyte* and other texts of the period by the shared use of particular woodcuts. This analysis has shown that *The Fruyte* marks a watershed between the more liturgically-structured books such as primers and Books of Hours, and the increasing number of texts produced for use in personal devotion which were not based on monastic or other ecclesiastical patterns. Since there has not been space here for a completely comprehensive survey, there may yet be more to be discovered as regards the significance of the role played by *The Fruyte* in the history of the printing of devotional material in this period.

However, the inescapable conclusion is that those elements which contributed to *The Fruyte*'s success are also amongst the reasons for its disappearance. As remarked in the Introduction to this study, tastes change over time, although sometimes those changes are enforced and thus take place more quickly than might otherwise be the case. In her analysis of the 'Act for the aduancement of true religion', part of the *Statutes* of 1543, Alexandra Gillespie notes that not only was Tyndale's translation of the Bible banned by this legislation, but so also were 'all books contrary to the established, published, sanctioned doctrine (post-1540)', as well as 'unsanctioned preambles and annotations'. Although

some ‘pre-1540 material [was] legitimately left upon the household shelves’, this appears to have been limited to ‘psalters, primers, prayers, and … a little light reading’, the latter category including chronicles, works by Chaucer and Gower, and what are described in the Act as ‘stories of mennes lyues’.[7] Although, as Bryan notes, the popularly of Passion narratives as a genre continued ‘unabated through the Reformation’,[8] in an atmosphere where it was in all likelihood safer to presume that something was unacceptable unless explicitly stated otherwise, specific texts such as *The Fruyte* were either deliberately set aside, or gradually slipped out of the public’s consciousness. In both instances it was undoubtedly replaced by texts which were similar in many ways, but which were untainted by the fact of the date of their first printing.

This research was therefore undertaken with a desire to return *The Fruyte* and its author to scholarly notice, in recognition of the text’s significance at the time of its original publication, and also for those elements which further consideration of it can contribute to wider study of the period. As has been demonstrated, this little text has much to offer in a variety of fields, including the relationship between text and image in early printed books, the ways in which Passion narratives were presented to and for a lay readership, and how

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[7] Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006), pp. 193-94 including n. 22, and quoting from the *Statutes* (*STC* 9407) sig. A3r.

[8] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, p. 109.

anchorites interacted with their surrounding communities. There is much scope for continuing work in all of these areas, as well as for examination of the journeys taken by the seven surviving copies of the text from sixteenth-century London to their present locations, all of which may in due course add to the continuing story of Symon Appulby and *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*, in the hope and expectation that the numbers of those 'vnto whose handes this deuoute lytell treatyse shall come' may be increased, 'to the honour of Jesus Chryst' and 'to the merytes of the deuoute father compounder of the same'.[9]

[9] *The Fruyte* sig. [E4], lines 3-4, 7-8, 17-18 (colophon).

Appendix A:

Symon Appulby's profession document[1]

Ego Simon Appulby sacerdos offerens trado meipsum divine pietati in ordine anachoritano serviturum; et secundum regulam ordinis illius in servicio dei amodo per gratiam divinam et concilium ecclesie promitto me permansurum et patribus meis spiritualibus obedienciam canonicam exhibiturum.

Lecta fuit ista professio et promissio subiectionis et obediencie coram Reverendo patre domino Ricardo FitzJames Londoniensi Episcopo in Monasterio Sancte Trinitatis London die dominica xxvj^{to} die Mensis Junij Anno domini ut supra (Millesimo quingentesimo xiij).

[In margin] Professio domini Simonis Appulby Anachorite.

(Register of Richard FitzJames, fol. 41)

[1] As given as the Appendix to Rotha Mary Clay, 'Further Studies on Medieval Recluses', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd series XVI (1953), 74-86, at p. 86.

Appendix B:

Symon Appulby's will[2]

[Greater London Record Office MS DL/C/330, fols. 252v-253][3]

[fol. 252v] In the name of God Amen. The vith day of June the yere of our lorde God m^{l}v^{c}xxxvii and the xxixth yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lord Kyng Henry the viiith, I Simond Appulby, preest, ancre in the hous or ankerage adioynyng to the parishe chirche of Alhallowes in the wall of London, beyng of good and perfycte memory, lawde and prayse be unto almighty God, make, ordeyn and dispose this my present testament and last will in maner and forme folowing, that is to wite: First, I commend my soule unto almighty God my maker, my savyor and redemor, and my body to be buried within the tombe alredy set and made within the ankerage aforesaid. Item, I will that the preestes of Pappy comme and be at my buriall to whom I bequethe, so commyng, twenty pence; and in likewise I bequethe to the brother-hode of the clerkes commyng to my buriall, after the custom and maner by them usid, twenty pence. Item, I bequeth to xiiii children bearyng xiiii tapers at my said buriall, which I have alredy provyded and bought, ii s. iiii d., that is to say to every of them same xiiii chyldren for ther labors ii d. Item, I bequethe other ii s. iiii d. unto xiiii pore people dwellyng within the said parissh of Alhallowes, that is to say to every of them ii d. Also I will that there bee expendyd at the tyme of my

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[2] As given as the Appendix to Mary C Erler, 'A London Anchorite, Simon Appulby: His *Fruyte of Redempcyon* and its Milieu', *Viator* 29 (1998), 227-39, at p. 239. Erler notes that the will was reprinted from Colin A McLaren, 'An Edition of Foxford, A Vicars-General Book of the Diocese of London 1521-1539, fols. 161-268', University of London MPhil thesis (1973).

[3] Location as cited by Erler; now the London Metropolitan Archives.

buriall in bunes, chese and ale to and for the company beyng at my buriall eight shillinges and foure pence. Item, I will that at the moneth day next after my deceasse there be expended at the discression of myne executor and overseer undernamed fyve shillynges. Moreover my very mynde and will is that all suche bookes and vestimentes as now be within the chapell of the said ankerage shall there perpetually remayne to thuse of the anker which after my deceasse shall supply the same romme [fol. 253] so that the same romme of an ancre there be supplied within one yere and a day next after my decesse; otherwise and without that so be, I will that all the same bookes and vestimentes shalbe putt to suche use as shall seme good to myn executor. The residue of all my gooddes whatsoever they be, the gooddys whiche I by my wryting late gave unto John Drynkmylke except, and my buryall in forme above sayd doon, I wyll shalbe disposed in dedys of pitie and charitie by myn executor undernamed as to his discression shall seme best. And of this my present testament and last will I make and ordeyn myn executor John Davell, citizein and wax chaundeler of London. And I bequeth unto the same John for his laboure in the premisses three shillinges and foure pence. And the overseer of the same my testament I make and ordeyn Thomas Hygson, citezen and fletcher of London. And I bequeth unto the same Thomas for his labor in that behalf three shyllynges and four pence. These beyng witnes … *

* Entry unfinished; followed by note: Probatum fuit suprascriptum testamentum coram magistro Barrett.

Appendix C:

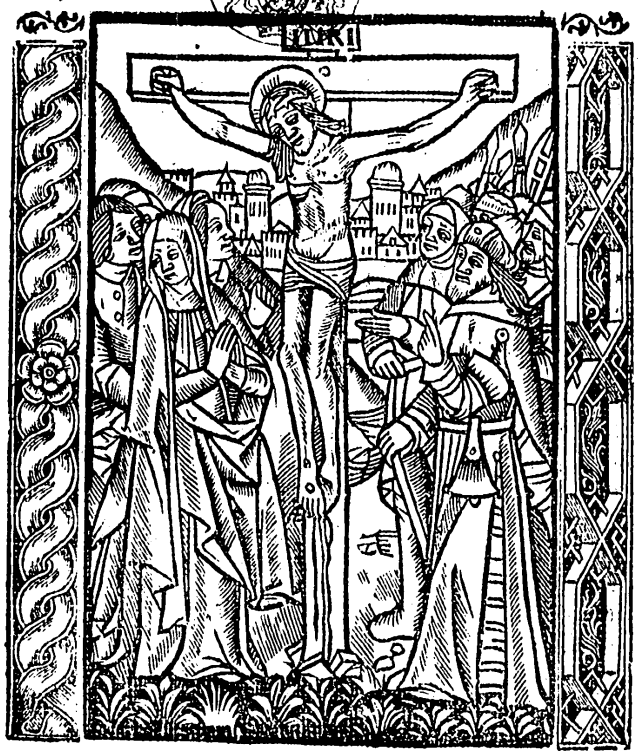
Transcription of *The Fruyte of Redempcyon*

(*STC* 22559, 21 May 1530)

The transcription is of the British Library copy of this edition, and the images are taken from the electronic version of that copy available at Early English Books Online via http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

Abbreviations have been silently expanded and punctuation modernised; spelling is original.

¶ The fruyte of re-dempcyon.



¶ The contentes of this boke appereth in the chapytres folowynge.

¶ A prayer to moue the mynde of man to laude god. Capitulum primum.
¶ Laude to the holy Trinite for hymselfe, and for the creacyon of heuen and erth, of aungell and man, and for his benefytes. Capitulum .ii.
¶ Of the myserable laps of man, and of the mercy of god shewed to hym, and of the incarnacyon of Chryst. Capitulum .iii.
¶ Of the vertue and holy lyfe of the virgyn Mary, by the whiche she deserued to be the mother of Chryst. And of the natiuite of our lorde. Capitulum .iiii.
¶ Of the dolorous circumcysyon of our sauyour Jesu Chryst. Capitulum .v.
¶ Of the oblacyon of the thre holy kynges to our lorde Jesu Chryst. Capitulum .vi.
¶ Of the presentacyon of our lorde Jesu in to the temple and of the purificacyon of our lady. Capitulum .vii.
¶ Of the persecucyon of Jesu, and of his fleynge in to Egypte, and of the holy Innocentes slayne of Herode. Capitulum .viii.
¶ Of the inuencyon of Jesu in the temple, and of his holy hydde lyfe. Capitulum .ix.
¶ Of the baptym of our lorde Jesu. Capitulum .x.
¶ Of the fastynge of our lorde Jesu in deserte, and of his temptacyons. Capitulum .xi.
¶ Of the predicacyon and holsome doctryne of our lorde Jesu, and of his gloryous sygnes, examples, and good maners, and of dyuerse trybulacyons of hym in this worlde. Capitulum .xii.
¶ Of the entrynge of our lorde Jesu in to Jerusalem, and of his last souper. Capitulum .xiii.
¶ Of the prayer that our lorde Jesu made thryes on the mounte of Olyuete. Capitulum .xiiii.
¶ Of the capcyon of our lorde Jesu, and of his byndynge, and how he was presented before the iudges, and of his illusyons. Capitulum .xv.
¶ Of the clamoure of the iewes agaynst Jesu for to haue hym crucyfyed, and of his expolyacyon and flagellacyon. Capitulum .xvi.
¶ Of the expolyacyon, illusyon, crownacyon, and persecucyons of the heed of Jesu. Capitulum .xvii.
¶ Of the wrongfull condempnacyon of our lorde Jesu to the deth of the crosse. Capitulum .xviii.
¶ Of the berynge of the crosse to caluary, and of the crucyfyenge of Jesu. Capitulum .xix.
¶ Of the blasphemes of the iewes, and of the prayer of Jesu on the crosse for his enemyes. Capitulum .xx.
¶ Of the mercy of Jesu shewed to the thefe hangynge at his ryght syde. Capitulum .xxi.
¶ Of the wordes of Jesu commendynge his mother to saynt Johan. Capitulum .xxii.
¶ Of the thurste of our lorde Jesu, and of his bytter drynke. Capitulum .xxiii.
¶ Of the greate clamour of Jesu on the crosse, my god my god why hast thou forsake me. Capitulum .xxiiii.
¶ Of the wordes of Jesu on the crosse, Consummatum est. Capitulum .xxv.
¶ Of thexpiracyon of Jesu, and of the myracles befal-

lynge in the tyme of his deth. Capitulum .xxvi.
¶ Of that the body of Chryst henge thre houres on the crosse deed, and of the openynge of his syde, and of certayne vtylytees therof. Capitulum .xxvii.
¶ Of the takyng downe of the body of Chryst from the crosse, and of his sepulture. Capitulum .xxviii.
¶ Of the gloryous resurreccyon of our lorde Jesu, and of his apparycyons. Capitulum .xxix.
¶ Of the meruaylous Ascencyon of our lorde Jesu.
Capitulum .xxx.
¶ Of the myssyon of the holy ghoost in the holy daye of Penthecost. Capitulum .xxxi.

¶ Thus endeth the contentes of this booke.

¶ Here foloweth prayers and full deuoute contemtemplacyons, with thankynges of all the benefytes gyuen to mankynde, and specyally in the werke of our redempcyon, of the incarnacyon and passyon of Chryst, called the fruyte of redempcyon. And fyrst it putteth a prayer to moue the mynde of man to laude god. Capitulum .i.

Lorde my god I desyre to laude the, for I knowe my self to be made to laude the. Open my mouth in thy laude, that I may synge ioy to thy name. Stere my herte in the, put awaye euery tedyous thynge, infunde grace, kendle loue, take away wyckednes of thy seruaunt, clense me from all vnclennes of body and soule, that I may be founde worthy vnto the honour of thy name, and therto open my lyppes. But the dignite of thy depe maieste who may prayse worthely, beholde all the vertues of heuens, and euery aungelyke potestate suffyseth not to laude condygnly the magnytude of thy hyghnes. How moche lesse a frayle man fylth and wormes meet fayleth in thy condygne laude. And so doth euery crea-

ture, euery oryson, euery tunge and sermocinacion, what now therfore. I shall cease fro laude, for I can not worthely laude the, or elles therfore I shall cease and holde me styll, for I knowe my selfe vnclene and vnsufficyent. Be it forbode suche ingratytude that I sholde cease to laude the, for euery creature sholde laude the, moost of all truly resonable man, to whom thou hast gyuen so great benefytes.

¶ Laude to the holy Trinite for hymselfe, and for the creacyon of heuen and erth, of aungell and man, and for his benefytes. Capitulum .ii.

O Blessed lorde god, father, sone, and holy ghost, thre persones and one god, my lorde, my god my maker, my redemptour, my nourissher, my defender, my swetnes, my mercy, my refuge, my strength, my victory, my sauyour my ioye, and my glory eternall. I laude the, I gloryfy the, I honour and worshyp the. O blessed Trinite for that thou art in thy selfe, for thou art the hyghest good, from whome floweth all goodnes, thou art gracyous eternite, thou art eternall felicite, thou art the depnes of felicite, thou art onely god, and there is none without the. I laude and honour the. O blessed Trinite that myghtfully hast made of nought heuen and erth, sonne and mone, and all thynges that be in them, and for it pleased the to make holy aungels to laude and to vse the eternally, and that they might assyst to vs faythfully in this exile with houable counseyles and helpynges, and to declare thy ineffable goodnes thou madest all thynge for man, and more ouer thou madest man with thy propre handes to thyme owne ymage and similitude onely for the, and thou formed in hym vnderstandynge, and noblysshed hym with free wyll. I laude and gloryfye the for that greate gyfte thou set hym in paradyse, flowynge with delytes that he myght haue high thynges in fruicyon, inferyour thynges in gouernynge, and to possede all thynges to worshyp the for euermore. And thou made not these noble creatures aungell and man for ony necessite that thou had to them, for truly all thinge was sufficient in the to thyne eternall ioye and glory, but of the feruor of thy charite thou were moued to create them that suche creatures sholde be parte takers of thyne ineffable ioye and glory. I laude and honour the good lorde for that it pleased the amonge al thy blessed werkes to make me a reasonable man, and hast gyuen me wysdome, reason, vnderstandynge, and free lyberte, and hast formed me with all ryght lymmes and fetures of body, and hast gyuen me many blessed gyftes, spirituall and temporall, and also meet, drynke, cloth, and all thinges necessary, whiche many a good creature that hath serued the better than I haue done, hath myssed, and for that thou hast visyte my herte many tymes with many graces and spirytuall monycyons delyuerynge me ofte fro many perylles both of body and of soule, and fro sclaundres, shames and rebukes of this worlde, to the whiche for my synnes I myght haue fall vnto, and for that also that thou hast suffred me in all myn iniquite, malyce, and all myn horryble and abhomynable synnes, pacyently alway abydynge for my conuersyon and amendment, whan innumerable tymes thou myght haue slayne me, and of ryght haue put me to eternall paynes and dampnacyon. I laude and gloryfy the lorde god for all thy mercy whiche always thou hast shewed

to synners, pacyently abydynge for them, mercyfully callynge them, benygnely receyuynge them, haboundauntly gyuynge grace to them, and to suche familiarite admyttynge them, as though they had neuer synned. O mercyfull lorde and pacyent god what shall I saye to the for al these benefytes, what laudes and thankynges shall I yelde to the, what and all my synnes were voyded fro me truly yet were not I worthy for the leest of thy benefytes and mercyes to gyue the condygne laude, but as a wretched synner can in all my herte I laude the. I thanke the, I honour and worshyp the, and all honour and laude be yelde to the now and euermore. Amen. Pater noster.

¶ Of the myserable laps of man, and of the mercy of god shewed to him, and of the incarnacyon of Chryst. Capitulum .iii.

I laude and glorify the lord god for thy moost excellent mercy and indycyble misericorde, by the whiche thou dyd spare man from irreparable dampnacyon, trespacynge to the, beynge vnworthy to all thy benefytes, sendynge hym out fro the gladnes of paradyse to do penaunce for his synnes. And all be it he was worthy eternall dampnacyon for his transgressyon, and sholde not haue forgyuenes, thou dyd not shewe than the rygour of iustyce, but the swetnes of ineffable mercy, puttynge to hym the burthen of dygne penaunce, and after longe tyme gyuynge the oyle of indulgence, whiche greatly he desyred. I laude and gloryfy the lorde god creatour and redemptour of mankynde for thy great charite, by the whiche man meruaylously create more meruaylously thou wolde hym reforme, and where as than we beynge thyn enemyes, and wycked deth had taken lordshyp ouer vs al. Thou hast remembred the bowelles of thy mercy, and thou hast beholde from the hygh habytacyon of thy glory vnto this wepynge valey of mysery, and hast seen thaffliccion of thy people to be great vpon the erth, the greuous burthen of the chyldren of Adam. Therfore thou were touched withinforth with the swetnes of charite, and thou dyde put in thy selfe to thynke on vs with cogytacyons of peace and redempcion for why whan that the fulnes of tyme was come, thou came to visyte vs shynynge from aboue. And the desyres of prophetes by the exhybycyon of incarnacyon taken thou dydest fulfyll it in apperynge god and man. Blessed be thou therfore O holy father of heuen that woldest not spare thyne onely beloued sone eternall god with the to sende hym downe to this myserable worlde, to take flesshe and blode of a virgyn to redeme man. Blessed be thou O holy ghoost for that thou gauest counseyle of the incarnacyon of the sone of god, and of the redempcion of mankynde, and wroughtest the mystery of the incarnacyon of the sayd sone of god in the body of a virgyn. Blessed be all the holy Trinite, in whome was one counseyle one wyll, one charite, and one operacyon in the hygh mystery of mannes redempcyon, all be it the seconde persone in deite onely toke our sayd humanite on hym, wherfore O swete sone of god blessed be thou that of great pyte, compassyon, and of excellent charite enclyned thy selfe so benygnly to descende from the Trone of god, and from the herte of the father to this valey of mysery for vs to

be incarnate and to take flesshe and blode of the swete virgyn Mary, the holy ghoost gaderynge togyder the clene and pure droppes of blode of her virgynall body, fourmynge therwith the precyous body of thyne humanite, fulfyllynge the holy soule and blessed body of the sayd virgyn Mary superhaboundauntly with incomparable gladnes and exultacyon in the tyme of thy holy and clene concepcyon, and lykewyse in thy pure and chaste temporall natiuite. Pater Noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the vertue and holy lyfe of the virgyn Mary, by the whiche she deserued to be the mother of god, and of the natiuite of our lorde. Capitulum .iiii.

Liber primo reuelatio num beate Brigitte capitulum x. A

O Blessed virgyn Mary, thou arte blessed, and euer be thou blessed for that thou pleased god moost hyghly by moost holy and vertuous lyuyng, for anone at thy begynnynge in thy tender aege whan thou herde saye and vnderstode that there was god, anone thou were full besy and ferefull in obseruacyon and kepynge of the helth of thy soule, and whan thou herdest fully that the same god was thy maker and iudge of all thy werkes, inwardly thou loued hym, and drad greatly in thy mynde leest thou sholde offende hym in worde or dede, and after that whan thou herdest that he had gyuen lawe and preceptes to the people, and that he had shewed many meruayles to them thou purposed stedfastly in thy mynde to loue no thynge but hym, and than all worldly thynges were wonderful bytter to the, and after this herynge that the same god wolde redeme the worlde, and wolde be borne of a virgyn, suche charite haddest thou to hym in thy herte that thou thoughtest no thynge but god, and thou wylled no thynge but god, and as moche as thou myght thou withdrewest thy selfe fro the presence and speche of thy parentes and frendes, and thou gaue of thy goodes as moche as thou myght to the poore and nedy people, reseruynge of them full lytell to thyselfe to fynde the in scarcete meet, drynke and cloth, no thynge pleased the but onely god, thou wylled euer in thy herte to lyue to the tyme of his natiuite, yf it myght so happen thou myght be made an vnworthy handmayde to the mother of god. I laude and honour the O Mary virgyn of virgyns that hast not seen before the none lyke to the, ne to haue ony suche folowynge after the, that fyrst of all in the worlde amonge women hast vowed the vowe of chastite, and offred therby a gloryous gyfte to god, whan thou had it of no creature by lernyng, ne by worde, ne by example, thou were not taught to do so, and thou so ornate and beautefyed with that vertue of chastite and with all other vertues thou pleased god moost hyghly gyuyng example of good lyuing to al other. And whan the tyme came in whiche after the consuetude virgyns were presented in to the temple, thou were there amonge them for the obedyence of thy parentes, thynkyng in thy selfe that no thynge was impossyble to god. And for as moche as he knewe that thou desyred no thynge, ne wylled no thynge but onely hym, he myght kepe the in virginite yf it pleased hym, yf not, his wyll to be fulfylled. And herynge all thynge commaunded in the temple obedyently fulfyllynge it thou returned home agayn. And after that holy virgyn thou brenned more feruently and

Ibidem

Ibidem

Ibidem

Ibidem B

Ibidem

fully in the swete loue of god than thou dyd before, and dayly thou were inflambed with newe ardour and hygh desyres of loue, and therfore good lady thou enlonged thy selfe more than thou were wont to do fro the company of all people and were alone by thyselfe bothe day and nyght dredynge greatly leest thy mouth sholde speke, or eeres sholde here ony thynge agaynst the wyll of thy god, or that thyne eyen sholde se ony delectable thynge. Thou were dredefull also in kepyng sylence leest thou sholde be styll not spekyng suche wordes whiche thou sholde speke, and so swete virgyn thou were ofte troubled in mynde and ferefull how thou sholde ordre thy wyttes and lyuynge to the pleasure of god. And after whan by the aungelyke salutacyon thou were plenarely instructe that thou sholde conceyue a sone in thy wombe by the operacyon of the holy ghost, whose name sholde be Jesus, and sholde be called the sone of god, than therwith thou had a moost feruent desyre to be the mother of god, but all be it thou knewe thy selfe electe therto of god, yet thou were not therfore in mynde exalted by elacyon, but of the fulnes of profounde humilite consentynge vnto that so hygh a mystery, thou brake out wordes of this maner mekely sayinge. Loo here the handmayde of god, befal it to me aungel after thy worde. And this sayd forthwith goddes sone was incarnate in thy virgynall body of the holy ghost. I laude and gloryfye the O good lady Mary clene and pure virgyn that broughtest forth in to this worlde by moost clene and chaste natiuite the redemptour of the worlde, and shewed to the worlde his sauyour of longe tyme desyred in the worlde, and in his byrth thou bare hym without sorowe and synne, in lykewyse as thou conceyued hym in all clennes with suche exultacyon of soule

Liber x reuelatio baete Brigitte. capitulum x. D

and body, that for thaboundance of ioye and exultacyon thy holy fete felte not the grounde that they stode on. And whan thy swete sone our lorde Jesu Chryst bryghtnes of the fathers glory was borne, thou lapped hym in poore clothes, reclynynge hym in a racke, for there was none other place whervpon to laye hym. And so the kynge of glory wolde be borne poorely, in a poore place, and of a poore virgyn, layde on hey bytwene two beestes for to brynge vs to the eternall rychesse of heuen. And after his byrthe good lady whan thou behelde his pulcrytude and beaute thy holy soule dystylled as a swete dewe for ioye, thynkynge thyselfe vnworthy to haue suche a sone, for sothly he was so fayre and delectable, that who so euer behelde hym, he was comforted of ony sorowe that was in herte. Therfore many of the iewes sayd. Go we to se the sone of Mary, that we may fynde therby consolacion. And all be it they knewe not that he was the sone of god, yet they receyued by the syght of hym greate and meruaylous consolacyon. And good lady whan thou behelde and consydered the places in his fayre handes and prety fete where the sharpe nayles sholde perce through, as thou had herde by holy prophetes, thy blessed eyen were replete with teres of wepyng, and thy virgynall herte was as clouen asonder for sorowe. And whan thy lytell swete sone behelde thy eyen full of wepynge, he was sorowfull as vnto the deth for the. And whan thou consydered the myght of his deite thou were than comforted, knowynge well that thy sone wolde haue it so, and that it was expedyent. And than thou conformed all thy wyll to his wyll, and so euer good lady thy ioye was myxte with sorowe. Blessed be thou virgyn Mary mother of god for that thou nourys-

Ibidem

Liber vi reuelatio capitulum primo

Ibidem

Liber x reuelatio capitulum x. D

Ibidem

shed thy swete sone our lorde with the swete heuenly fode of thy pappes, bathynge hym, byndynge hym in swadles, embracynge hym thy lytell swete floure in thyne armes and virgynall bosom, impressynge often tymes to his fayre mouth swete kysses of thy delycate mouth. And whan thou dyd se hym suffrynge the greuaunce of a yonge chylde and wepynge, thou losed his bandes layenge thy fayre handes and holy armes ouer his crybbe, playenge with hym, smylynge on hym, spekynge fayre wordes to hym, and castynge the fayre lokes of thy virgynall eyen on hym. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the dolorous circumcisyon of our lorde Jesu. Capitulum .v.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst for that it pleased the obeyenge to the lawes the .viii. daye to be circumcysed, and anone in thy tender infancy to be kyt in thy tender flesshe with a knyfe of stone, and than to begyn to shede thyne innocent blode for vs, and to be ensygned with the swete name Jesus, named fro the begynnynge by the mouth of god, and shewed by the aungell, whiche by interpretacyon is to say a sauyour, and after the effect of the same name thou decreued to saue vs thy people peculyer from our synnes. And

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from thens forth thou neuer lefte to werke our helth. Swete Jesu I beseche the for the greuous payne that thou suffred than in thy tender flesshe, and for thy bytter wepynge to circumcyse me from euery spotte of synne, and graunt me suche grace that in a moost swete memory of loue thy holy name Jesus may be imprynted in my herte. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the oblacyon of the thre holy kynges vnto our lorde Jesu. Capitulum .vi.

Laude and honoure be to the lorde Jesu that so desyrably woldest be sought of thre kynges, and so to be founde of them by ledynge of a sterre, and of them humbly to be honoured, whan moost deuoutly they offred to the thre precyous gyftes, golde, encence, and myrre, hauynge in them dyuyne mysteryes. The golde sygnyfyenge thy regall power. The encence thy diuyne maieste. And the myrre of thy manhode the mortalite. Benygne Jesu I praye the to sende me

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grace spirytually to offre these gyftes to the. The pure golde of perfyte loue. The swete encence of deuout prayer. And the clene myrre of mortyfycayon of my frayle flesshe. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the presentacyon of our lorde Jesu in to the temple, and of the purifycacyon of our lady. Capitulum .vii.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst, that in euery thynge woldest submytte thy selfe vnto the instytucyons of the lawe, and in

the armes of thy mother mekely wolde be borne with oblacyons of poore men. And so thou lorde of the temple woldest be presented in to the temple, and vnder the substaunce of our frayle flesshe offred thy selfe to god the father a holsome sacryfyce for vs, and madest the secretnes of thy godhede to be shewed by the olde man Symeon by inspiracyon of the holy ghoost dwellynge in hym. I gloryfye the clene virgyn Mary that in lyke wyse woldest humbly submytte thyselfe to the lawe of purificacyon whan thou were no thynge bounde therto, for onely vnto this lawe all the women were bounde that conceyued a chylde by the sede of man. But thou O clene virgyn conceyued not thy blessed sone by the sede of man, but by inspiracyon of the holy ghoost. And so good lady thou were all clene, chaste, and bryght, wherfore thou had no maner necessite of purificacyon, but of profounde humilite. O clene virgyn thou wolde be in this worlde amonge women by purificacyon as one of them. And so was thy swete sone amonge chyldren by circumcysyon as one of them. Than seen thou meke lady wolde be puryfyed that haddest no nede of purifycacyon, how moche cause than haue we greate synners to be purifyed and clensed that be so defyled and cankered with synne. Therfore make vs good lady so to be puryfyed and clensed here in this worlde from euery spotte of synne, that after this lyfe in all clennesse we may appere before the gloryous face of thy blessed sone. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

Leuiticus xii

Bernardus

Oratio

¶ Of the persecucyon of our lorde Jesu, and of his fleynge in to Egypte. And of the holy Innocentes slayne of Herode. Capitulum .viii.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst, sapyence of the father, and vertue of the hygh god that woldest so perfytly take all our infirmytees, debilitees and offences on the, exceptynge ignoraunce and synne, so that thou wolde flee deth and a mortall man fro place to place, for Herode gylefully sought the and founde the not, wherfore he commaunded to slee all the chyldren in Bethleem from two yere of aege and within, that he myght slee the amonge them. But thou the hope of pylgrymes went in to Egypte, and there thou dwelled in exyle vnto the deth of Herode, and dyd suffre there great penury and pouerte, for they that sholde be thyne wolde not receyue the, but anone at thy begynnynge despysed the. And after the deth of Herode thou were called agayne from Egypte in to Nazareth. And whan thou were thyder brought, thou were humbly subiecte to thy parentes. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the inuencyon of Jesu in the temple, and of his holy hydde lyfe. Capitulum .ix.

I Laude and honour the Jesu Chryst, that beynge in aege but .xii. yeres thou sate in the temple in the myddes of doctours askynge and heryng them, and thou taught them so moche the more whan thou

asked them questions prudently. And there thou raddest thyne owne prophecy in ysaye. And thou blessed sone of god began to growe in aege and wysdome as god and man. And .xxxiii. yeres thou were as a seruaunt so suffrynge for our helth, and thou were conuersaunt amonge men mekely, iustly, soberly and pacyently to gyue vs example of lyuynge. I praye the good Jesu for all the vertues in whiche thou ladde thy lyfe that thou wylte graunte me thaboundaunce of thy grace, wherby I may profyte in dayly encreacynge of all vertues to the laude and glory of thy name. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the baptysme of our lorde Jesu. Capitulum .x.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu chryst for that thou wold be baptysed of thy holy seruaunt saynt Johan, whan than for thy mekenes the father testifyed that thou were his onely consubstancyal sone by his voyce sayenge. Here is my welbeloued sone, in whome I am well pleased. The holy ghost also apperyng on the in lykenes of a doue. And this thou toke not for thy selfe but for vs, to haue therby our baptysme, and to make it a holsome sacrament of saluacyon for vs. Lorde Jesu I thanke the for my baptysme, wherby I am made a chrysten man, and for that it pleased the I sholde be borne of chrysten parentes, and in the tyme of grace, and for that I am instructe in the true fayth of thy chirche, and where as many tymes I haue defyled my baptysme by synne and wyckednes, good Jesu I praye the to clense me agayne by the sacrament of true penaunce, so that after this mortall lyfe I may appere before thy gloryous face in the same clennesse that I was in, in the tyme of my baptysme. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the fastynge of our lorde Jesu in deserte, and of his temptacyons. Capitulum .xi.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst, that anone after thy baptysme were ledde in to deserte, there labourynge in bytternes of abstynence, in hunger, in thurste in colde and hete, and suffred there also many other infirmytees of man, and there thou dyd wake by nyght in prayer, and thou that arte the fode of aungell and man dyd hunger and thurste, after that thou had fasted .xl. dayes and .xl. nyghtes, and suffred the feende to tempte the. O good Jesu I beseche the for all thy holy prayers whiche thou prayed the sayd .xl. dayes and .xl. nyghtes, and for all orysons whiche at all thymes thou prayed for vs in the syght of god thy father, and for thy holy and perfyte cogytacyons, wordes, and holy dedes, sende me grace to vse abstynence and vigylles, and make me holy and perfyte in all cogitacyons, wordes and dedes to the laude

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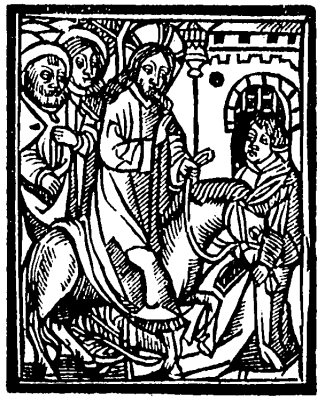
and glory of thy name. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the predicacyon and holsome doctryne of our lorde Jesu, and of his gloryous sygnes, examples and good maners, and of dyuerse tribulacyons of hym in this worlde. Capitulum .xii.

I Laude and gloryfye the lorde Jesu Chryst for all the holy werkes that thou wrought from the daye of thy holy baptysme vnto thy passyon, for in that tyme thou gadred the couent of thy dyscyples, and amonge them thou chase .xii. apostles, that by them thou might subdue to the, the proude and hygh of this worlde. And in those dayes thou opened the bosom of thy pite and mercy to all them that came to the, and thou preched openly to all men remyssyon of synnes, and entrynge of the kyngdome of heuen. And ofte thou were fatygate and wery of iourneys and of colde, and somtyme of feruor of hete, and in all this thou suffred many persecucyons and sclaundres of the progeny of them that thou were borne of, for in theyr wordes they said agaynst the, and marked wrongfully thy dedes, layenge wayte on the by daye and by nyght, coueytynge contynually thy deth, resystynge the, and dishonestynge the by wordes, dedes and blasphemes, sayenge. This man is not of god, but a synner and hath a feende in hym, he maddeth in Belzabub prynce of feendes, he casteth out deuylles, he begyleth the people, he is a gloton, a drynker of wyne, and the frende of publycanes. These and many other blasphemes they sayd of the, and oftentymes they wolde haue stoned the, and all this thou suffred pacyently, and behad thyselfe before them as a man not herynge, and as hauynge no redargucyons ne contrauercyes in his mouth And for as moche as they were harde of herte and slouthfull of byleue, thou confermed thy wordes with tokens folowynge. In weddynges thou turned water in to wyne. Of fyue loues and two fysshes thou fedde fyue thousande men. Thou walked vpon the see. Before thy discyples Peter, James and Johan thou were transfygured. Thou gauest syght to blynde men. Thou made the dombe to speke, the defe to here, the creples to go. Thou cured Lunatykes. Thou delyuered possessed of feendes. Thou reysed deed men. Thou clensed lepers. Thou delyuered a woman taken in auoutry from condempnacyon of deth. Thou clensed Mary mawdeleyn from synne. Thou heeled the woman from the fluxe of blode. Thou gladded the woman askynge helth for her doughter. The woman that was incuruate and croked .xviii. yeres, thou reysed vp ryght. Whan thou were wery of thy iourney syttynge and restynge on the welles syde, to the woman talkynge with the thou gauest her knowlege of the and of her selfe. And in thy predicacyon thou stered the herte of a woman with thaboundaunce of thy grace, that she cryed in the myddes of the people and sayd Blessed be the wombe that bare the, and the pappes that gaue the souke.



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¶ Of the entrynge of our lorde Jesu in to Jerusalem, and of his last souper. Capitulum .xiii.

Blessed be thou lorde Jesu Chryst for the moost holy teres of wepyng whiche thou wepte at the monument of Lazar, and vpon the Cite of Jerusalem, and for al the wepynges that euer thou wepte. And for thy humble and meke entryng in to Jerusalem, whan thou sate on an asse before fyue dayes of eester, for thou came as a pascall lambe to be offred the syxth daye for our synnes, whan the hebrewe people mette with the with floures and palmes cryenge and sayenge. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the lorde. And not longe after the nyghte before thy passyon thou made thy laste souper with thy dyscyples, sayenge to them these wordes. One desyre is whiche effectually I haue desyred to ete this pascall souper with you, that is playnly to saye, I haue feruently desyred to gyue you myne owne body and blode, and to fede you therwith before I suffre deth for you. And after thou had eten the pascall lambe with them thou dydest ryse fro the table and puttest of thy garment fastnynge a lynnen cloth aboute the, and full humbly thou enclyned thyselfe wasshynge thy discyples fete, and dryenge them with a cloth. And this done thou put on thy vesture agayn, and syttynge downe eftsones at the table thou sayd. Knowe ye what I haue done to you, I lorde and mayster haue gyuen example to you, that in lykewyse as I haue done, so you to do the same. And amonge all other wordes that thou spake thou were troubled in spyryte, and protestynge thou sayd. Truly I saye to you that one of you shall betraye me. And herynge this they began to be full sory, and all they one after an other sayd to the. Lorde whether I am he. And thou sayd to them. He that putteth his hande with me in the dysshe, he it is that shall betraye me. And the souper ended thou made a termynacyon of the olde testament, begynnynge the newe, whan than with thy holy handes thou dyd consecrate thy precyous body and blode in forme of breed and wyne, fedynge thy discyples therwith, gyuynge them auctorite, and by them to all preestes to the worldes ende to do the same, whan thou sayd these wordes. Do ye this in to my commemoracyon. O what excellent loue shewed thou to vs good Jesu in that tyme whan not onely thou wolde dye for vs, but also woldest fede vs dayly with thy precyous body and blode, that we sholde not hunger ne thurste for euermore. And for that we synne dayly agaynst god, and thou myght dye but ones for vs, therfore in this worthy sacrament thou wolde dayly be offred by the handes of the preest to god thy father for our cotydyan synnes. And for as moche as we be in dayly conflycte of batayle with our cruell enemy the feende, thou ordeyned suche prouysyon for vs, that the percepcyon of this worthy sacrament sholde be a toure of strengthe for vs agaynst his cruell malyce. And for that we sholde haue sure trust to obteyne the kyngdome of heuen, thou hast gyuen vs the sacrament of thy precyous body to be a pledge or a wedde to vs of eternall glorye, and to lede vs the waye to thy gloryous kyngdome. Benygne Jesu I praye the to gyue me grace so worthely to receyue thy precyous body before my deth, wherby I may attayne the kyngdome of heuen, for faythfully I trust so on thy greate mercy that thou wylte not exclude them from thy heuenly kyngedome, vnto whome it pleaseth the to be knytte vnto by connexyon of this honourable sacrament. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the prayer that our lorde made thryes on the mount of Olyuete. Capitulum .xiiii.

Thankynges be to the lorde Jesu Chryst, that after thou had wrought the foresayd mysteryes of consuetude thou wente than to the mount of Olyuete, where before thy passyon thryes thou made thy prayer to thy father of heuen, in whiche most deuoute prayer thou suffred in thyselfe a great conflycte, by reason of two loues that were in the, one was by meanes of the loue whiche naturally thou had to thy humanite, and in the other parte by reason of the feruent and charytable loue whiche thou had to mannes soule, whan by knowlege of thy godhede thou called vnto thy holy mynde all the horryble passion that thou sholde suffre for man in thy tender virgynall body, wherfore suche drede was in the by reason of naturall loue whiche thou had to thy selfe, that thou prayed to thy father, sayenge. Father yf it be possyble make and cause the chalyce of this bytter passyon to be taken fro me. But yet the feruor of thexcellent loue whiche thou had to the redempcyon and saluacyon of mannes soule exceded ferre thy fyrst naturall loue, and in suche maner ouercame it and depressed it, that in concludynge thy prayer thou sayd. Father not my wyll in this peticyon, but thyne be fulfylled and done. And after thou had prayed thus thre tymes, the dolorous passion that thou sholde suffre was soo fresshely with bytternesse prynted in thy holy mynde, that for anguysshe of naturall drede thou were cast in to suche an agony, that for the purete of thy complexyon thou swette blode and water, so that the pure droppes of blode fell vnto the grounde. And than an aungell sente from thy father appered comfortynge the. And not withstandyng all this in shewynge that thou loued mannes soule better than thyne owne lyfe, thou lefte not to suffre bytter passyon and cruell deth for vs. O good Jesu for thy holy prayer, bytter agony and excellent loue whiche thou shewed to vs, sende me grace to be deuoute to the in holy prayers, and hertely to loue the agayne for the swete loue thou hast shewed to me. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the capcyon of our lorde Jesu, and of his byndynge, and how he was presented before the iudges, and of his illusyons. Capitulum .xv.

I Laude and gloryfye the lorde Jesu Chryst, that after thou were comforted of the aungell, voluntaryly thou wente to the place where thou knewe to mete with thy traytour Judas. And after that he had betrayed the with a kysse, all thy frendes fleynge fro the, thyne enemyes violently set holde on the, byndynge thy handes behynde the, that came to lose the bande of our captiuite, and thou full mekely saydest to that company, as to a

thefe ye come with knyues and staues to take me, whan dayly I was techynge in the temple, and ye dyd not holde me, but now this is your houre and power of derknes. And the wycked persones caryed the moost meke lambe as a thefe or a gylty man fast bounde and presented the fyrst to Anna, and thou moost wysest was there examyned of thy doctryne, and of thy discyples, as though thou had ben moost vnwyse. And thou answered. That I spake was openly sayd, therfore aske them that herde me what my wordes were. And thou lord of all thynge were sore stryken by the handes of one that stode besyde, sayenge Why gyuest thou suche answere to the bysshop. And thou answered agayn mekely. yf I speke euyl, take wytnes of euyll, and yf I sayd well, why smytest me. Than Annas sente the fast bounde to Cayphas, before whome they made the lorde of heuen to stande, to whome thousande thousandes of aungels assysteth in heuen beholdyng and laudynge the. And there thyne enemyes sought and sayd agaynst the many false testimonyes. And thou that art the hygh trouth sayd no worde, but suffred all thynge equally, and stode there in greate pacyence and charite. God before men, the creatour before the creature. And whan thou were asked and adiured, humbly thou confessed to be the sone of god. And they sayd that thou spake blasphemes and that thou were worthy deth, and they smote the cruelly on the face and on the necke with theyr handes, and behad themselfe full malycyously agaynst the after theyr owne wyll, not onely despysyng the, the sone of god, but they forgate in the all compassyon of humanite, and they began to spytte in thy amyable face, in the whiche aungelles desyreth to beholde, and they defyled the, the moost beauteous in forme and shape before all the chyldren of men with the fylth of rechynge and spyttyng of theyr lothsom mouthes, and in derysyon they hyd thy moost bryght eyen, that illumyneth heuen and erth, and they strake the full scornefully, sayenge. Prophecy now and tell who he is that smyteth the. And many other blasphemes they put to the, and these wycked men without ony mercy sought meanes to slee the, not sparynge to smyte the on the face, and thus they vexed the all the nyght with iniuryes, despysynges and passyons. And erly in the sprynge of the daye the prynces and senyours of preestes came togyder takynge counseyle how they myght destroye the by moost shamefull deth, and they had the before them askynge whether thou were the sone of god, and that thou sholde shewe it openly. And thou answered confermynge that thou were the sone of god. And they sayd, what other wytnes shall we desyre, we haue herde it sayd of his owne mouth. Than all the multytude rose vp and ledde the forth fast bounde, and presented the to Pylate the iudge, accusynge the and sayenge that thou were a subuerser and a deceyuer of the people, techynge ouer all Jury vnto that Cite. Pylate herynge this, caused the to be ledde to Herode, and thou wente thyder full mekely and pacyently in the wayes of our helth. And whan thou were presented before Herode, thyne enemyes stode constauntly accusynge the. And Herode asked the many questyons, trustyng to haue seen some token or myracle of the. But thou good Jesu gauest none answere, and wolde shewe no token, but the sygne and token of humilite and pacyence. And they mocked thy goodly prouydence, trowynge thy pacyence and humilite to be fatuyte and ignoraunce. Therfore Herode with all his despysed the, and in mockage they put on the a whyte

vesture, in tokenynge of fatuite, and so with vnhoneste vnreuerently Herode sente the to Pylate agayne. And that daye bycause of the, Pylate and Herode were made frendes, that before tyme loued not other. And by the waye as thou wente Jesu myne onely hope from one wycked man to an other thou were illuded and weryed with sore percucyons and strokes. Oratio Meke Jesu I beseche the for all these irrysyons and vexacyons that thyne enemyes dyd to the, defende me from al myne enemyes bodyly and ghostly, and sende me pacyence in all tribulacyons and aduersytees. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the clamoure of the iewes agaynst Jesu to haue hym crucyfyed, and of his expolyacyon and flagellacyon. Capitulum .xvi.

Lorde Jesu Chryst sone of the euer lyuynge god I laude and gloryfye the for all the iniuryes thou suffred whan thyne enemyes brought the in to the pretory before Pylate, and they wold not entre in, but Pylate went out to them and sayd. What accusacyon brynge you agaynst this man. And all they cryed, yf he were not a malefactour, we wolde not brynge hym to the. Than Pylate went agayne into the pretory and called the to hym and sayd. Thou art the kynge of iewes. And thou answered agayn, thou hast sayd so. Than Pylate sayd to the, thy people and bysshops hath brought the to me, what hast thou done. Thou answered, my kyngdom is not of this worlde, yf my kyngdom were of this worlde my mynystres truly wolde make defence that I sholde not be yolden to the iewes. Pylate sayd, therfore than thou art a kyng. And thou answered mekely, thou sayst

that I am a kynge, therto truly I am borne, and for that I came in to the worlde that I might bere wytnes of trouth, and euery man that is of trouth hereth my worde And Pylate went out agayne to the iewes and sayd. I fynde no cause of deth in this man, therfore I wyll chastyse hym and let hym go. There is a consuetude amonge you that I shall delyuer you a prysoner at Eester, wyll ye that I delyuer to you the kynge of iewes. They answered nay not hym but Baraban. Than Pylate toke the and made the personally to put of thy clothes, and thou stode naked and bare suffrynge the erubescensy of nakednes in the presence of thy mother as thou were borne of her body, and before thyne irrysors and enemyes all thy frendes fleynge from the. And personally thou put thy handes aboute the pyller, and thyne enemyes bounde the fast, and the cursed tyrantes layde vpon thy fayre body tender and clene from euery spotte of synne, some with whyppes, and some with roddes, and thy skynne was so tender and fayre, so that with the leest stroke that they coude laye on thy body the purpre blode appered flesshely in syght vpon the fayre beautefull skynne, and at the fyrst stroke thy sorowfull mother (that stode by the) fell to the grounde as deed, and takynge spiryte agayne she behelde all thy body beten and scourged that the stremes of blode ran downe on euery syde, the bare bones apperynge of thy sydes. And this was moost bytter of all, whan they drewe the knotty scourges they rent awaye the flesshe withall. And than good Jesu thou stode all tremblynge and quakynge for anguysshe and payne all blody and torne, so that fro the sole of the fote to the top of the heed in the was no hole place where thou myght suffre ony more betynge. Than one moued in spiryte

Liber reuelation capitulum x. E.

Liber x reuelatio beate Brigitte capitulum x E.

Ibidem

Ibidem

asked whether they wolde slee the not iudged to deth. And than whan thou were losed from the pyller, thy blessed mother behelde the place where as thou stode, and she sawe it replete with thy blode, and she folowynge the knewe where thou had gone by the tokens and steppes of blode, for the grounde where thou had gone appered infuded with thy blode. And all this swete Jesu thou suffered, takynge on the all the wrathe whiche we deserued for our synnes. O good Jesu for the bytternes of thy scourgynge, with the whiche the tender membres of thy body were torne. And for the greate sorowe that entred through thy body whan thou were taken from the pyller and clothed agayne in thyne owne clothes, and for thy dredes, anguysshes, effusyons of blode, and for all the pryntes of woundes whiche thou toke in thy bytter scourgynge, and for the hony swete memory of thy blessed passyon I beseche the to gyue me grace perseuerauntly to bere it in the cogitacyons of my herte, and that thou wylte ouersprynge the interyour partes of my herte with thy precyous blode, to the laude and glory of thy name. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

Ibidem
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¶ Of the expolyacyon, illusyon, crownacyon, and persecucyons of the heed of Jesu. Capitulum .xvii.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst that the thyrde houre of the daye were spoyled of thy clothes by the mynystres of Pylate, and before all the company of thyne enemyes they clothed the kynge of glory with an olde purpre cloth, that fro the begynnynge were circumdate with glory and honour, and settynge the vpon a stole they put a buystous garlande of sharpe thornes on thy heed, whiche with theyr staues they had wraythed, smytynge and pressynge it downe as cruelly as they myght without ony mercy, so that the blode stremed downe pyteously from thy dyuyne heed ouer thy face and necke, that therwith thyne eyen were blynded, thyne eers, nose and thy mouth repleted with thy blode, and all disfigured, and they gaue the a rede in thy ryght hande for a regall septre, whiche arte kynge of kynges, and lorde of lordes, and knelynge before the, they illuded the, sayenge. All hayle kyng of iewes, and they smote the with great strokes that art lorde of vertue, to whome sonne, mone, and euery celestyall ordre doth seruyce, and they spette in thyne amiable face, of whose pulcritude and beaute the sonne and the mone meruayleth, and they toke the rede from thy hande whiche was great and harde, and smote the therwith on the heed. O good Jesu for this thorny crowne whiche with many punctures wounded thy blessed heed, and for thy myserable vysage whiche was dysfygured reed and waylfull by smytynges and wepynges, blacke and blewe with plages, suffused with blode, and fyled by spettynge, graunte my soule so amyable a face that thy clere eyen may delyte to se her. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the wrongfull condempnacyon of Jesu to the deth of the crosse. Capitulum .xviii.

Thankynges I yelde to the lord Jesu Chryst for the holy and deuoute steppes that thou wente, goynge fro the pretory, berynge the crowne of thornes and the purpre vestement, whan Pylate presented the to thyne enemyes, sayenge. Beholde man, as though he said, yf this man hath offended the lawe, spare hym

now for as moche as ye se hym deiecte, myserable, and rewfull to beholde. And they behelde the with terryble eyen and cryed. Crucyfye hym, crucyfye hym. And Pylate sayd, I fynde no cause in hym, therfore take ye hym and crucyfye hym. Than they cryed, we haue a lawe and after the lawe he must dye, for he nameth hymselfe the sone of god. Than Pylate entred in to the pretory and called the to hym, and sayd. From whens art thou. And thou sapyence that procedest fro the mouth of the hygh god answered no worde, for thou were so meke in all thy iniuryes, that the iudge of iniquite meruaylled therof. And whan he sayd to the that he had power to crucyfye the and also to delyuer the. Thou answered mekely, thou sholde not haue power in me, but yf it were gyuen the from aboue. Than Pylate wente out and sayd to the iewes, beholde your kynge. They denyed and forsoke the to be theyr kynge, sayenge. We haue no kynge but Cesar. Truly Jesu I knowlege the this day to be my god and my lorde, and playnly I ioye in the, that we haue the to be our aduocate and bysshop that knowest well how to haue compassyon of our infirmytees, and I praye the that thou wylt knowlege me this daye before the face of thy father, and saye this to my soule. I am thyne onely helth. O myne onely solace, the people cryed horrybly agayne on the to the iudge, sayenge. yf thou let hym passe so, thou art not Cesars frende. Than Pylate knowyng that for enuy they had brought the to hym, but yet wyllyng to satysfye the people, he wasshed his handes, and sayd. I am innocent from the blode of this man, ye may it se. And all the people cryed and sayd. The vengeaunce of his blode must fall on vs and on our children. Than he delyuered to them Baraban, and iudged the innocent sone of god to deth. O good Jesu for this terryble sentence of thy dampnacyon, and for the great humilite, pacyence and softnes whiche thou shewed vs in all thy tribulacyons and anguysshes whiche thou suffered goynge in and out fro iudge to iudge, make me humble and peasyble in al my werkes. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the berynge of the crosse to Caluary, and of the crucyfyenge of Jesu. Capitulum .xix.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst that the syxt houre of the day puttest of the purpre vestement, where than the cursed tyrantes fyersly plucked it of from thy tender body sore wounded whan it was cleuen fast with drye blode to thy body, wherwith they drewe the skynne and the flesshe, with the whiche thy body was all to rent, rased and torne, and stremed agayn fresshely with blode. And than they clothed the eftsones in thyne owne vesture full ignomynyously, and thou were ledde bytwene two theues berynge thyne owne crosse great and heuy on thy sholders through the Cite toward Caluary with great wondrynge of people, some lamentynge and waylynge for the, some illudyng and scornynge the, and some smytynge the with sore strokes, sayenge. Go forth thefe, go forth traytour, go forth false deceuyer and begyler of people. And all be it thy sorowfull mother for multytude of people coude not se who smote the, yet she myght here clerely the sowne of the vyolent percucyons and strokes that they layde on the, and than thou were so faynt of body and so feble by meanes of so

Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x E.

great passyons and effusyons of blode that thou fell down to the grounde with the heuy crosse on thy backe, and than they compelled another man to bere thy crosse to Caluary, and this they dyd for no compassyon of the, but for fere leest thou sholde haue dyed without great turmentes. And the good woman Veronyca brought to the a fayre sudary which thou set to thy visage, wherin thou prynted a pyteous pycture and a dolorous memoryall of thy passyon to be depely prynted in the hertes of thy louynge poore seruauntes in this worlde. And as thou wente in these paynfull tribulacyons, thou turned thyselfe to the women that folowed lamentynge the, with swete wordes comfortyng them, and desyred that they sholde not wepe on the, but on themselfe and on theyr chyldren. And whan thou came to the place of paynes, all the instrumentes for thy crucyfyenge were ordeyned there redy, whiche thy mother behelde with moost sorowfull herte, and personally there thou put of thy clothes, the wycked mynystres sayenge amonge themselfe. These vestures be ours, he may no more haue them for that he is condempned to deth. And thou Jesu standynge there naked and bare as thou were borne, one rennynge brought to the a couerynge, wherof inwardly thou ioyed, and fastenynge it aboute thy myddes mekely thou layest downe on the crosse, spredyng out thyne armes and layenge forth thy legges in length, thou offred there thy precyous wounded body on the harde crosse in sacrifyce to god thy father as a moost meke lambe for our synnes, and the cursed tyrantes cruelly nayled fyrst thy ryght hande where the hole was perced for the nayle to entre, and than with a rope fastned to thy handwrest violently halyng and drawynge they nayled thy lefte hande on the syde of the crosse where as the

Liber x reuelatio capitulum x E.

Ibidem

hole was ordeyned for the same, and in lyke maner halyng, drawynge and straynynge they crucyfyed fyrst thy ryght fote, and vpon the same thy lefte fote with two nayles, wherby the senewes and vaynes of thy body were broken and by suche cruell extencyon and halynge the ioyntes of thy body were dissolued and losed, that all the bones myght be nombred, and all the woundes of thy body, and all the dolours of them therby were renewed, and the horryble payne of thy woundes entred through all thy bowelles, and the sharpnes of the nayles perced the secretes of the marowe of thy bones and synewes, bryngynge out to vs the precyous tresours of thy blode. O good Jesu for all these dolours that thou suffred goinge to thy deth, and in thy crucyfyenge whan thou were strayned so on the crosse that thou coude not meue hande, fote, ne none other membre of thy body but onely thy tung, wherwith thou might praye for thyne enemyes, and for all the dolours that wente through all the interyour partes of thy body whan thy crosse was reysed and let fall in to the morteys with suche vyolence that all thy sore bones cracked, and for the greate charite that made the ascende on the crosse I praye the that thy charite may brenne and consume all my synnes so fully in my soule, that she may be made a moost pure myrrour in the syght of thy godhede. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

Ibidem G

Oratio

¶ Of the blasphemes of the iewes, and of the prayer of Jesu on the crosse for his enemyes. Capitulum .xx.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst for that thou hangynge on the crosse suffred many great derisyons and insultacions of thy cruell enemyes, for why some of them sayd that thou were a thefe, and some that thou were a greate lyer, and some affermed and sayd that none was

Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x G

worthyer deth than thou were, and some sayd that thou coude helpe other men, but thou coude not helpe thy selfe, and some blasphemynge sayd, yf thou be Chryst kynge of Israell, come downe of the crosse that we may byleue on the, and many other blasphemes they sayd of the. And not withstandyng all this thou had more compassyon of them thy cruell enemyes than thou had of thy self, suffrynge so great turmentes, so that of thy haboundaunt charite thou prayed for them, sayenge. Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do. O cruelte of people of this world that wyll shewe no mercy for small offences done agaynst them, but wyll be auenged without pyte, no thynge regardyng the great charite of Chryst, gyuynge vs example of excellent compassyon, but suche vengeable people sholde remembre this wryten That they whiche wyl shewe no

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mercy, no mercy shal haue. Jesu I praye the for thy passyon and for thy charite that thou shewed prayenge for thyne enemyes, gyue me grace to loue my frendes in the, and myne enemyes for the, and gladly to forgyue them that offendeth me, that thou mercyful lorde wylte forgyue all myne offences, wherwith I haue prouoked the ofte to wrath. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the mercy of our lorde Jesu shewed to the thefe hangynge at his ryght syde. Capitulum .xxi.

Thankynges I yelde to the benygne Jesu for the great mercy thou shewed to the thefe that henge besyde the at thy ryght syde whan of hertely contricyon and stedfast fayth he sayd to the, haue mynde of me lorde whan thou comest to thy kyngdome, and thou lorde of mercy not onely graunted hym forgyuenes of synnes but also the blysse of paradyse, sayenge to hym. Truly I saye to the this day thou shalt be with me in paradyse. Mercyfull Jesu I praye the to graunte me so bytter contricyon for my synnes before I dye, wherby I may obteyn of them full remyssyon, and also the blysse of paradyse with the worshypfull thefe that henge at thy ryght syde. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the wordes of Jesu, commendynge his mother to saynt Johan. Capitulum .xxii.

I Laude and gloryfye the lorde Jesu Chryst for the ineffable dolour whiche thou had hangynge on the crosse, beholdynge thy sorowfull mother standynge besyde the, turmented in soule with inestymable dolours and anguysshes for motherly compassyon that she had of the, whan she behelde the her onely sone so pyteously extent on the crosse without offence, wounded with thousande woundes, and flesshe taken of her virgynall flesshe all to rent and torne. And for the cruell deth whiche thou suffred of the people, of whose progeny thou were borne, hauynge no consolacyon of frende, for all were fledde fro the, therfore thou loked to the grounde where thy dolorous mother stode yf happely she myght helpe the, but thou had no helpe of her, for she was faynt and sorowfull. And whan thou behelde her and other that loued the standynge by her sore wepynge and waylynge, whiche leuer wolde haue suffred that payne that thou suffred in themselfe with thyne helpe, or to bren in hell for euermore than to se the so crucyate and turmented. And the sorowe that thou toke for thy mother and frendes waylynge for the, exceded all the bytternesse of trybulacyons that thou suffred in thy body or in thy herte. for full tenderly thou loued them. And thou commended

Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x. H.

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thy mother to thy discyple saynt Johan, sayenge to her Woman beholde thy sone. Jesu I beseche the that in the dredefull houre of my deth thou wylte commende me to the proteccyon of thy blessed mother, that she may defende me fro the malyce and power of feendes, that by theyr wycked sotylte they brynge me not in to desperacyon, elacyon, ne from my fayth, but defended by her, thy passyon helpynge I may obteyn the ioye eternall. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the thurste of Jesu on the crosse, and of his bytter drynke. Capitulum .xxiii.

I Laude and gloryfye the lorde Jesu Chryst for the thurste thou suffred on the crosse by reason of ofte and greate effusyons of blode and turmentes, but more ardently thou thursted our helth and saluacyon, sayenge thus. Sitio. I thurste. And thou the fonte of the water of lyfe tasted soure eysell medled with bytter gall, by a sponge therwith fulfylled and put to thy mouth, and that thou wolde suffre and taste for mannes trespace, tastynge the fruyte forboden hym by god. For this thurste and bytter drynke Jesu I praye the quenche in me the thurste of carnall concupyscence, and the hete of worldly delectacyon, and kendle my desyre so to vertue and to euery good werke, that after this lyfe I may be made dronke in heuen with the plentefulnesse of thy hous, and with the swete wyne of the vysyon of thy godhede. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the great clamour of Jesu on the crosse. My god my god, why hast thou forsake me. Capitulum .xxiiii.

Laude and honour I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst that so myserably hengest on the crosse bytwene two theues all wounded and pyteously rent. And for as moche as thou were best and stronge of complexyon, therfore lyfe stryued with deth in thy wounded body, for som whyles the dolours of thy membres and synewes of thy body wounded ascended to thy herte, whiche was moost fresshe and vncorrupte, whiche vexed the with incredyble dolour and passyon. And som whyles the dolour descended from the herte vnto the membres lacerate and torne, and so deth was prolonged in the Jesu with great bytternes and hangynge on the crosse in suche horryble turmentes thou cryed to thy father with a greate voyce, sayenge. My god, my god, why hast thou forsake me, as though thou sayd, O father haue mynde why thou forsakest me in these bytter anguysshes, therfore it is that I shold make satysfaccyon to the for the synne of man, and that I myght turne away thy wrath fro them, and so reconcyled by me they may fynde grace before thy face. O my father and lorde I haue fulfylled it with bytter passyon and cruell deth, I haue made satisfaccyon to thy fatherly charite, with the brennynge desyre of brotherly charite, and whose maker I was fro the begynnynge, I am made now theyr redemptour and sauyour, and the kyngdome of heuen whiche I posseded fro the begynnynge by rightful herytage of a sone now I am become man in this late tyme, and all bespronge with myne owne blode, that man whose brother I am become may possede the same kyngdome for euermore in herytage by brotherly ryght. O swete Jesu hertely I praye the for all the woundes of thy precyous body, and for the feruent anguysshe whiche thou suffred on the crosse to be there as a man forsaken of god, for that god sholde

Liber reuelatio capitulum x. H

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not forsake vs eternally, and for the bytter wepynges whiche thou wepte on the crosse for vs with dolefull cryenge for huge bytternes of sorowes and ardent desyre of charite, forsake me not meke Jesu at my last ende, but receyue me to thy mercy and saue my soule that thou hast bought so dere. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the wordes of Jesu on the crosse, Consummatum est. Capitulum .xxv.

Lorde Jesu Chryst that arte moost purest myrrour of the holy Trinite, whom I beholde now with the inwarde eyen of my mynde, with all myne inwarde bowelles I laude and gloryfye the, that about the houre of thy deth saydest these wordes Consummatum est, as though thou sayd. Euery thynge that hath be sayd of me by the mouthes of holy prophetes, or fygured of me in the lawe fro the tyme of my concepcion vnto
Oratio the houre of my deth now is fulfylled in me. Lorde Jesu Chryst I praye the for the vertue of these holy wordes graunte me grace to fulfyll obedyently all thy wyll in obseruacyon of thy holy preceptes, and to ordre my lyfe after thy holy counseyles, wherby thy passyon helpyng I may obteyne eternall felicite. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the expiracyon of Jesu, and of the myracles befallynge in the tyme of his deth. Capitulum .xxvi.

Redemptour of mankynde Jesu Chryst I laude and honour the, that whan the tyme of deth was come thy blessed eyen appered al deedly, the chere of thy vysage was all waylynge and lamentable, thy mouth

opened, thy teeth apperynge whyte, thy tunge all blody, thy bely cleued to thy backe all consumed fro moystnes as though thou had no bowelles, all thy body pale and wan by reason of flowynges out of blode, thy handes and fete greatly swollen by straynynge and naylynge to the crosse, thy heere and berde reed with blode and clotted. And than for the great anguysshe of deth of the partye of thy manhode thou cryed to thy father sayenge. O father in to thy handes I betake my spiryte. Than the virgyn thy mother herynge these wordes as moost sorowfull mother, all the membres of her body trembled and quoke, and euer after whyles she lyued as ofte as she remembred these wordes, it sowned in her eeres as present and fresshe to her heryng. And than good Jesu whan deth came, wherby thy herte for vyolence of dolours sholde breke in sonder all thy body trembled, and a lytel lyftynge vp thy heed thou enclyned it on thy sholder, thy handes withdrewe themselfe a lytel from the place of perforacyon, and than thy fete susteyned moche of the weyght of thy body, thy fyngers and armes somwhat extended themselfe and strongly strayned themselfe vpwarde to the tree, and with suche bytter dolours thy hert brake in sonder, and thy holy soule departed from thy blessed body and with the godhede went downe to hell, and brekynge vp the gates of deth toke out all the holy soules whiche thou had thus redemed, settynge them in the felicite of paradyse. And in the daye of thyne Ascencion thou presented them (whome thou had bought with thy precyous dethe) to thy holy father of heuen. And thou good Jesu henge on the crosse naked and so poore and nedy that thou had not wheron to reclyne thy heed but at the last thou reclyned it on thy sholder for foure

Liber primo reuelatio beate Brigitte capitulum x. G

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causes. One was that thou might gyue a kysse to thyne espouse holy chirche, and to shewe her that all the wrath of thy father was mytygate and peasyfyed by the. The seconde was to aske a reclinatory in the herte of man. The thyrde thou reclyned thy heed on thy sholder as sayenge what sholde I haue done more for the than I haue done, shewe me, for I am redy yet to do it for the and to helpe the. The fourth, as though thou sayd, trust veryly in me, for that thou can not do I may do it for the. And in thy deth good Jesu creatures hauynge no reason wayle for the, for why stones brake, monumentes opened, and many bodyes of holy men that were deed dyd ryse. The vayle of the temple did breke fro the hyghest parte vnto the grounde. And the sonne as sorowynge for the withdrewe his lyght that all the worlde was derke. O ingratytude of reasonable man that can not sorowe for thy passyon, for whome thou suffred it so paynfully. For this dolorous passyon and deth Jesu I beseche the to be mercyfull to me in the dredefull houre of my deth, and graunte me ryght mynde and speche to the last ende of my lyf, and that I may haue more mynde of the and of thy passyon than of the dolours and paynes that than I shall suffre, and commendyng my soule to thy blessed handes thou wylt receyue her, whome thou hast bought to the glory that hath none ende. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of that the body of Chryst henge deed thre houres on the crosse, and of the openynge of his syde with a spere, and of certayne vtylytees therof. Capitulum .xxvii.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst for that it pleased the to hange thre houres myserably deed on the crosse, lykewyse as thou henge thre houres a lyue in horryble turmentes on the crosse, and that it pleased the to suffre thy holy syde to be opened with a spere that blode and water plenteously ran out. And than were the gates of heuen opened to vs, whiche fro the tyme that Adam had synned to that houre were contynually sparde agaynst vs. And as our fyrst mother Eue was formed of the syde of Adam slepynge in paradyse, so our chaste mother holy chirche good Jesu of thy syde, whiche arte the seconde Adam hangynge deed on the crosse was formed, and al the sacramentes of the same our sayd good mother of thy foresayd precyous wounde toke all theyr strength and vertue. And where as by the transgressyon of our fyrst parentes Adam and Eue all we were the chyldren of perdicyon. So by the swete Jesu the seconde Adam by thy passyon and the sacrament of baptysme we be made the chyldren of adopcyon. And by the merytes of the same passyon with helpe of the sacramentes of holy chirche thy chaste espouse our good mother, we trust stedfastly to be the chyldren of saluacyon. O swete Jesu, hertely I praye the that the merytes of thy precyous wounde, with the helpe of the sayd blessed sacrament may open the gates of heuen to me, that after this mortall lyfe I may haue free entrynge there to dwell with the for euer more. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the takyng downe of the body of Chryst fro the crosse, and of his sepulture. Capitulum .xxviii.

Liber primo reuelatio capitulum x. H

Ibidem

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst for that thou were taken downe of the crosse by the besy labour of thy frendes Joseph and Nychodeme, and thy sorowfull mother receyued the on her lappe with full bytter wepynge, where thou lay as a man all to drawen and torne in euery membre so piteously disfygured that thou were more lyke a lepre than a clene man, and thy deed eyen were all blody, thy mouth colde as yse, thyne armes were so styffe, colde, and spredde abrode as thou henge on the crosse, that thy mother and frendes aforesayd had greate besynes to brynge them downe to thy bely, and thy wofull mother wyped and dryed thy blody woundes with a cloth, and closed thy mouth and eyen whiche were open by deth, and this done thy wounded deifyed body was lapped in a clene sudary, and dressed with odoramentes, and layde and buryed in the lowe place of the herte of the erth. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the gloryous resurreccyon of Jesu, and of his apparycyons. Capitulum.xxix.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryste that the thyrde daye dyd ryse from dethes gloryfyed in body and soule with thy godhede, apperynge to thy blessed mother, as we mekely may ymagyn, and also to Mary mawdeleyn. And thou mette with the women comynge from the monument, sayenge to them. All hayle ye. And they came to the layenge handes on thy fete, and also the same daye of thy resurreccyon thou appered to two discyples goynge to Emaus, and they knewe the in brekynge of breed. And agayne thou entred to thy discyples the gates beynge shet and sayd. Peace be to you, I am drede ye not. And before them thou dyd ete parte of a rosted fysshe, and of a hony combe. And at the see Tiberiadis thou shewed thy selfe to thy discyples, and breed and fysshe whiche thou had taken of them thou delyuered to them, and full frendly thou comoned with them, and specyally with Peter that had denyed the. And after .viii. dayes agayn thou appered to thy discyples and gauest them thy peace, and thou conforted Thomas harde of byleue, by shewynge of thy woundes to hym. Pater noster. Aue maria.

¶ Of the meruaylous ascencion of our lorde Jesu. Capitulum .xxx.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryste for all that euer thou dyd fro the day of thy gloryous resurreccyon vnto the daye of thy meruaylous ascencion, for fro that day oftentymes thou appered to thy discyples, and to other thy faythfull frendes, frendly confortyng them of the sorowe and heuynesse whiche they toke for the in thy passyon, and confermynge them in thy fayth, hope and charite. And last of all thou ascended on the mount of Olyuete, and lyftynge vp thy hande thou gaue them thy diuyne benediccyon, and in the syght of all

that were there thou were lyfte vp in to heuen, where thou shewed all thy woundes and vyctory to the syght of thy father, and syttyng at his right syde coomnipotent and coeterne thou were crowned with glory and honoure. Lorde Jesu Chryst for the glory of thyne ascencyon gyue me grace to folowe the by grees of vertue from daye to daye, that after this lyfe as a membre of thy mystycall body I may be knytte to the ye heed of the same body in heuen blysse for euermore. Amen. Pater noster. Aue maria.

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¶ Of the myssyon of the holy ghost on the blessed daye of Penthecoste. Capitulum .xxxi.

Thankynges I yelde to the lorde Jesu Chryst that after .x. days of thyne ascencyon sendest downe the holy ghost after thy promesse to thy discyples, in lykenes of tunges of fyre brennynge, wherby they were so illumined with grace that with theyr mouthes in the tunges of all nacyons they preched the lawe of thy brennynge charite, wherof all the people meruayled. And confermyng the wordes of theyr doctryne by open myracles they conuerted innumerable people to thy fayth, so that Peter in one daye conuerted thre thousande from theyr errour. Benygne Jesu I praye the to sende me grace of the holy ghost, and his swete consolacyon in all my werkes with the blessed gyftes of hym, wherby I may lede here an acceptable lyfe vnto thy pleasure, that I may therby obteyne the ioye and glory that neuer

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shall haue ende. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue maria. Credo in deum.

Te deum laudamus. etc.

O All ye seruauntes of god vnto whose handes this deuoute lytell treatyse shall come, yf ye fynde swetnes or deuocyon in Jesu Chryst therby, laude ye god therfore, and of your charite praye for the Anker of London wall wretched Symon, that to the honour of Jesu Chryst and of the virgyn his mother Mary hath compyled this mater in englysshe for your ghostly conforte that vnderstande no latyn.

¶ Deo gracias.

¶ Here endeth the treatyse called the fruyte of redempcyon, whiche deuoute treatyse I Rycharde vnworthy bysshop of London haue studyously radde and ouerseen, and the same approue as moche as in me is to be radde of the true seruauntes of swete Jesu, to theyr great consolacion and ghostly conforte, and to the merytes of the deuoute father compounder of the same.

¶Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde, the yere of
our lorde god. M.CCCCC. and. xxx. And
fynysshed the .xxi. daye of Maye.


W & C
18 FE 51
wynkyn
worde

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